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Cornell University

Ithaca, New York

CORNELL STUDIES

IN

CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

EDITED BY

BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER, CHARLES EDWIN BENNETT,  
AND GEORGE PRENTICE BRISTOL

No. X

THE ATHENIAN ARCHONS OF THE THIRD AND SECOND  
CENTURIES BEFORE CHRIST

BY

WILLIAM SCOTT FERGUSON, A.M.

PUBLISHED FOR THE UNIVERSITY

BY

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

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## PREFACE.

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During the thirty-one years of the fourth century B.C., from 352/1 till the end of the Lamian War, the prytany secretaries at Athens followed one another in the official order of their tribes.<sup>1</sup> The oligarchy introduced a new arrangement for the short period of its government. It is not clear how the secretaries were chosen under Demetrios of Phaleron.<sup>2</sup> After 307/6 B.C., however, the democracy returned to its earlier practice, and for every one of the following two hundred and eleven years we know which tribe furnished the secretary.

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## ERRATA.

On page 21, note 1 in place of p. 29, n. 4. write p. 18, n. 4.; on page 21, note 4 in place of p. 44. write p. 27.; on page 26, on page 29 §§ 20 and 21 (in three places) and on page 43 § 32 in place of Arrhenides write Arrheneides.

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<sup>1</sup>Cornell Studies, VII (1898), p. 34.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., § 12.

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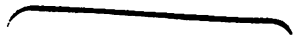
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This knowledge we owe to the fact that throughout this period the official order of the secretaries' tribes remained unbroken. The use of the official order is assured for the years between 303/2 and 299/8 B.C. After 299/8 B.C., wherever we know the sequence of a group of secretaries' tribes, that sequence is the official order.<sup>3</sup> This proves that the official order remained in use throughout the period. In seven years,<sup>4</sup> well distributed over the two centuries, we are able, by means of connections established with external systems of chronology, to demonstrate that the tribe which held the secretaryship was the one which the official order demanded. This proves that the official order remained in *continuous* use throughout the period. Moreover, there are cases in which several secretaries are confined to a period of a few years by events recorded in inscriptions passed during their terms in office. Had it been possible for a tribe to hold the secretaryship in any or every year, it could only be due to an extraordinary coincidence that in none of these

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In connection with each archon name, from Lysias on, I have given in the foot-notes a reference to all the passages I could find in which the name occurs. My indebtedness to my predecessors is acknowledged in the frequency with which I have cited their works. Of the careful treatise by Schtschoukareff, I could use only the proper names, and the parts which were not in Russian, *i. e.*, the references. Reviews of his book have, however, been consulted. Koehler and Homolle deserve to be especially mentioned, the former for his masterly treatment of the Attic inscriptions of this period, the latter for his careful articles on the Delian contributions to Athenian chronology.

Professor B. I. Wheeler's unceasing interest and assistance have done much to make this study what it is. Professor G. P. Bristol and Dr. F. O. Bates have read the proofs and given me many valuable suggestions. To all three I here express my heartiest thanks.

W. S. F.

ITHACA, N. Y., April 24th, 1899.





## THE ATHENIAN ARCHONS OF THE THIRD AND SECOND CENTURIES BEFORE CHRIST.

§ 1. Anaxikrates, Koroibos, Euxenippos, Pherekles, Leostratos, Nikokles, Klearchos, Hegemachos, Euktemon, Mnesidemos, Antiphates, ('Αναρχία), Nikias, Nikostratos, Olympiodoros, and Philippos. 307/6-293/2 B.C.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>1</sup> assigns to these archons the positions they occupy in this list and with him Diodorus Siculus<sup>2</sup> and the Parian Chronicle,<sup>3</sup> as far as they go, agree. The only problem in connection with them is to decide whether or no there is one lacking between Euktemon and Philippos. The presumption that there is such a lacuna rests upon the following statement of Dionysius<sup>4</sup>: *ἐπεὶ δ' ἀναγκαία πρὸς ταῦτα ἢ τῶν χρόνων διάγνωσις, τοὺς Ἀθήνησιν ἄρξαντας ἀφ' οὗ Δείναρχον ὑπεθέμεθα γεγονέναι χρόνου, μέχρι τῆς δοθείσης αὐτῷ, μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν, καθόδου, γενομένους ἑβδομήκοντα, προθήσομεν*, whereas in the list which follows, as preserved in the MSS., only sixty-eight names are found. There is ample evidence that one, Hegesias (324/3 B.C.), was lost in the tradition of the MSS. and critics have thought that the second had in the same way dropped out of its position immediately before Olympiodoros or Philippos.<sup>5</sup>

If there is really a vacancy all will now admit that it must occur between Euktemon and Philippos; for this is the only group of archons whose sequence is not established by corroborative tes-

<sup>1</sup> De Dinarcho, IX. <sup>2</sup> XX, 45ff. <sup>3</sup> Mitth. XXII (1897), p. 183ff. <sup>4</sup> l. c.

<sup>5</sup> The evidence of C.I.G. 6084 can in no way help to a decision in this matter. If it is spurious, as Wilamowitz and Droysen suppose, it is of course valueless. If it is genuine, as Franz, Mommsen, Kaibel, and Schtschoukareff think, it can seemingly be made to ascribe Philippos to 293/2 B.C. as easily as to any other year; cf. Berl. Phil. Woch. XI (1891), p. 147; Mitth. XXII (1897), p. 200f. Schubert's view (Hermes, X (1876), p. 447ff.) that Diokles was archon in 301/0 B.C. and that this is the missing name in Dionysius' list needs now only to be stated to be rejected; see the three consecutive inscriptions published as C.I.A. IV 2, 611b.

timony. In close connection has to be considered the fact that in C.I.A. II, 299 and in IV 2, 299c, Nikias, one of the group in question, is called archon *ὑστερος*. If Nikias was a 'suffectus', was Antiphates, who immediately precedes him in the list, his predecessor in office for the same year? If he was, two names are wanting; if he was not, why is the archon suffectus and not the regularly appointed magistrate mentioned by Dionysius?

A very plausible explanation of the difficulty raised by the absence of a name in Dionysius' list is that suggested by Wilamowitz,<sup>1</sup> further worked out by Schtschoukareff,<sup>2</sup> and accepted by Schoeffer.<sup>3</sup> According to this the error was made by Dionysius himself. In *De Dinarcho* II we are told that after the death of Demosthenes Deinarchos spent fifteen years in Athens writing speeches, and fifteen years at Chalcis in exile. Anaxikrates was the last archon in the period of his forensic activity, and also the first archon in that of his exile. By taking Archippos (321/0 B.C.) as our first archon, and by counting Anaxikrates (307/6 B.C.) twice, as Dionysius does, we can get an apparent total of thirty years between the death of Demosthenes and the archonship of Philippos in 293/2 B.C. By adding this thirty to the forty which fall between the birth of Deinarchos (361/0 B.C.) and Archippos, Dionysius made his total of seventy. Such a blunder could occur very easily because of the fact that the Greeks in calculating the number of years in a given period included both extremes.

In regard to the second difficulty it is now certain that between Euktemon and Nikostratos only three years intervene.<sup>4</sup> For each of these three years moreover there is an archon in Dionysius' list and there is no reason for supposing that there ever were more than three; since the epithet *ὑστερος*,<sup>5</sup> though it may be differently explained, does not mean that Nikias was the second person to hold the archonship in that year. He either had no predecessor at all, as seems to me demonstrable, or was re-appointed at

<sup>1</sup> Phil. Unter. IV (1881), p. 240f. <sup>2</sup> Ath. Archons of the 3d Cent. B.C. (1889), p. 31ff. <sup>3</sup> Berl. Phil. Woch. XI (1891), p. 147ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cornell Studies, VII (1898), p. 50; cf. A. J. P. XIX (1898), p. 314.

<sup>5</sup> Phil. XXXVIII (1879), p. 445f.; Phil. Unter. IV (1881), p. 237ff.

the end of the six months' term to which Lachares is supposed in 296/5 B.C. to have limited the tenure of office. There is no clearer evidence needed that Nikias was the recognized eponymos for his year than the fact that, when in 282/1 B.C. another Nikias became archon, the deme-name of this second individual was officially added to his surname.

Between Antiphates and Nikias I have indicated a period of *ἀναρχία*. Its duration coincides with that of the tyranny of Lachares, which seems to me to be correctly placed before the 'later archonship' of Nikias. That Lachares was a genuine tyrant who overthrew the magistracies and legislative bodies and was not a constitutional reformer can now, I think, be proved conclusively. The tyranny began in the winter of 297/6 B.C. and continued until the month of Ἐλαφebolion<sup>1</sup> in the year 296/5 B.C. It included the last half of the archonship of Antiphates and the first eight months of Nikias' year. This view is based upon the following construction of the pertinent material :

In the winter of 297/6 B.C. Lachares, the dominant politician of Athens, at the instigation<sup>2</sup> of Kassandros, King of Macedon, attempted to make himself tyrant of the state. While the internal strife which followed was still raging, Demetrios Poliorketes, who had shortly before destroyed the city of Samaria,<sup>3</sup> heard of it,<sup>4</sup> and thinking, because Kassandros was now dead,<sup>5</sup> the time all the more opportune for regaining his hold on Athens he crossed the Aegean with his fleet in the spring of 296 B.C.<sup>6</sup> However, having

<sup>1</sup> Unger, Phil. XXXVIII (1879), p. 446; Droysen, Gesch. d. Hell. II<sup>2</sup>, 2, p. 394.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. I, 25, 7; cf. Pöhlmann, Müller Handb. III, p. 445.

<sup>3</sup> Euseb. ed. Schoene II, p. 118; cf. Droysen, Gesch. II<sup>2</sup>, 2, p. 243, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Plut. Demet. XXXIII, 4 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Nineteen years from the accession of Kassandros, in the spring of 316-5 B.C., (Diod. XIX, 50, 51) take us to the spring of 297-6 B.C. It is unlikely that the chronographers who give us months in other cases here used a round number.

<sup>6</sup> If the 'four-years war' occurred in the years 306-302 B.C., as Ladek (Wien. Stud. XIII (1891), p. 111 ff.) has made probable, there is no longer any reason to fix with Droysen (Gesch. II<sup>2</sup>, 2, p. 247) Demetrios' voyage in 298 B.C.; cf. also Wachsmuth, Die Stadt Athen, I, p. 615, n. 2; Schubert, Hermes, X (1876), p. 111 ff.; Wilhelm, Gött. gel. Anz. 1898, p. 222; Unger, Phil. XXXVIII (1879), p. 477 ff. and esp. p. 479.

lost most of his ships in a storm off the coast of Attica, he was unable to effect anything against the city for the moment. He therefore proceeded into the Peloponnese to which his possession of Megara and Corinth gave him ready access, and while his officers were getting together a new fleet, passed the summer in various military enterprises before Messene and elsewhere. It was probably in the same fall that accompanied by the ships already collected he made his second attack on Attica. His fleet seized Aegina and Salamis<sup>1</sup> and cut off all approach to Athens by sea, while his land force, using as its bases the two captured villages Eleusis and Rhamnus, did the same by land.

Lachares, now firmly established as tyrant, made a long and vigorous defense, but was hampered by the machinations of a party within the city<sup>2</sup> which preferred a Macedonian king to an Athenian tyrant. A reign of terror ensued, and public sentiment, shocked by such acts as the application of the gold from Athena's statue<sup>3</sup> to what were regarded as party purposes, was before spring came already in favor of Demetrios. The closeness of the blockade<sup>4</sup> made the entrance of provisions impossible, and as a result extreme need prevailed in the city. Accordingly when the hope of relief, which Ptolemy's fleet<sup>5</sup> brought with it, had to be abandoned on the appearance of the rest of Demetrios' ships from Cyprus and the Peloponnese, Lachares, disguising himself in countryman's clothing, made his escape from the city. Thereupon the Athenians threw open their gates to 'the besieger', and sent an embassy<sup>6</sup> to arrange terms with him. The entrance of Demetrios marked the restoration of the democracy; for amidst the plaudits of the assembled citizens their 'deliverer' bade them revert to the magistracies<sup>7</sup> so dear to them. This was done in the

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<sup>1</sup> Polyæn. IV, 7, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. I, 25, 7; Athen. IX, 70; Plut. Is. et Osir. 71.

<sup>4</sup> See Plut. Demet. XXXIII and XXXIV, for a sketch of the siege.

<sup>5</sup> As it was in the year 295 B.C. (Velleius Paterculus, I, 14, 6, and Mommsen, C.I.L. I, p. 517) that Pyrrhos came from Egypt and became King of Epirus, it may very well have been, as Droysen supposes, that he made the voyage with this fleet.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. C.I.A. II, 300.

<sup>7</sup> Plutarch says: *Κατέστησεν ἀρχάς, αἱ μάλιστα τῷ δήμῳ προσφιλεῖς ἦσαν.*

latter part of 296/5 B.C.,<sup>1</sup> and the archon appointed for the remainder of the year was Nikias ὑστέρως. When in 319/8 B.C. the oligarchy was overthrown, it is generally agreed that, at the ἀρχαιεσία which then was held, the archon Apollodoros was re-elected. Had the same been true of Nikias, we should have expected Nikias δεύτερος just as we find Apollodoros δεύτερος.<sup>2</sup>

The chronological requirements of our authorities seem to me to be best met, if we ascribe the death of Kassandros to the spring of 297/6 B.C.,<sup>3</sup> give to Philippos his oldest son a reign of twelve months, fix the murder of Alexandros, the flight of Antipatros, and the accession of Demetrios two years and six months later<sup>4</sup> in the latter part of 294/3 B.C.<sup>5</sup> and set down the final expulsion of Demetrios from Macedon to the end of 288/7 B.C.<sup>6</sup> According to these calculations, there fall about two years between the capture of Athens and the occupation of the throne of Macedon by Demetrios—a time none too long for his stay in Athens, his two battles with the Spartan King,<sup>7</sup> his siege of Argos,<sup>8</sup> his advance into Macedon, his subsequent retreat to Larissa, and his final entrance into the Macedonian capital. It is true that Plutarch represents this interval as somewhat shorter;<sup>9</sup> but surely it may be allowed to him to illustrate his thesis that Demetrios' Tyche took delight in sudden reversals by grouping his success at Athens and Sparta, his losses in Asia Minor and Cyprus, and his subsequent advancement to the throne of Mace-

<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. II, 299; IV 2, 299 c; cf. Unger, Phil. XXXVIII (1879), p. 446.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II Add. 299 b; IV 2, 299 c; cf. Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Apollodoros.

<sup>3</sup> Clinton, F. H. II, App. 4, p. 291; Dittenberger, Hermes, II (1867), p. 293.

<sup>4</sup> Euseb. I, p. 232, 241; there is another tradition which gives to Philippos four months only; see Euseb. I, p. 245 and 241.

<sup>5</sup> Euseb. I, p. 232 and 234.

<sup>6</sup> After a reign of 7 years according to Plut. Demet. XLIV, 6 years and 6 months according to Euseb. I, p. 241 and 245, 6 years according to Euseb. I, p. 233 and 241.

<sup>7</sup> Plut. Demet. XXXV.

<sup>8</sup> Athen. X, 415 a; cf. Niese, Gesch. d. griech. u. mak. Staaten, I, p. 363.

<sup>9</sup> In Plutarch's life of Pyrrhos, ch. 5 ff, no difficulty is experienced if we assume that two years intervene between Pyrrhos' accession to the throne of Epirus and the death of Alexandros.

donia.<sup>1</sup> I therefore cannot agree with Wilamowitz<sup>2</sup> in making the beginning of Lachares' tyranny fall six months before the extraordinary election of archon and prytanies in what, according to his hypothesis, is the middle of 296/5 B.C. Lachares did not double the number of office holders for each year: he dispensed with magistrates altogether.

§ 2. *Lysias*<sup>3</sup> and *Kimón*.<sup>4</sup> 292/1–291/0 B.C.

The reasons for assigning *Lysias* and *Kimón* to 292/1 and 291/0 B.C. are cogent. From C.I.A. IV 2, 614 b we learn that in the archonships of *Lysias*, *Kimón*, and [*Diokles*]<sup>5</sup> the Athenians maintained garrisons of citizens and mercenaries at Eleusis, Phyle, and Panakton to protect their territory against enemies,<sup>6</sup> who

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch is notorious for his neglect of chronology; Unger (Phil. XXXVIII (1879), p. 473) refers to his "flüchtige gegen die chronologie gleichgültige weise"; Holm (ET. IV, p. 201) says that "Plutarch pays no heed to chronology"; cf. Thirlwall's pertinent remark in his *Hist. of Greece*, VIII, p. 18, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Phil. Unter. IV (1881), p. 199 ff. and p. 237 ff.; Wilamowitz's view is based upon the supposition that Lachares was merely a constitutional reformer (cf. Holm, ET. IV, p. 51). It can only be held if the evidence of Pausanias is rejected (Phil. Unter. IV, p. 240). It makes the unwarranted assumption, against which the chronology of the year 319–8 B.C. protests, that Gamelion not Elaphebolion divided the year 296–5 B.C. into two parts, and finds its only confirmation in a forced interpretation of C.I.A. II, 331, l. 21 ff.; see Hauvette-Besnault, *Les Stratèges Athéniens* (1885), p. 165 ff.=Unger, Phil. Suppl. V (1889), p. 685 ff. Unger's hypothesis (Phil. XXXVIII (1879), p. 455 ff.), that Plutarch confuses two distinct conquests of Athens by Demetrios which he thinks took place, one in 295 B.C., and the other in 294 B.C., is unproven and unnecessary.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 614 b, l. 57.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II, 331, l. 31; IV 2, 614 b, l. 60; the name *Kimón* appears also as a restoration in C.I.A. II, 330, but there it is certainly wrong; see below, § 26.

<sup>5</sup> Demetrios' war with the Aetolians came to an end in 289–8 B.C. probably, (see Pöhlmann, Müller Handb. III, p. 445). Because of it Demetrios celebrated the Pythian games of 290–89 B.C. in Athens (Plut. Demet. XL), and to it the ithyphallos embodied in Athenaeus (VI, 253) and quoted by Wilamowitz (Phil. Unter. IV (1881), p. 241 ff.) undoubtedly has reference. Athens had probably to defend her own territory while Demetrios was engaged with his enterprises at Corcyra and Leucas; see also C.I.A. II, 331, l. 31 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Koehler's comment on C.I.A. IV 2, 614 b.

were at the same time hostile to the city's friend and ally Demetrios, King of Macedon. The two archon-names cannot fall before 292/1 B.C. : there is at the utmost place for but one and that only if Kimon does not succeed Lysias directly.<sup>1</sup> The friendship between Athens and Demetrios was at an end in 287/6 B.C., and in that year, Phila, Demetrios' queen, who at the time of this inscription is alive, was dead.<sup>2</sup> The years 290/89, 289/8, and 288/7 B.C. have their archons definitely fixed by the official order of the tribes of the secretaries. 292/1 and 291/0 B.C. are therefore the only years left for Lysias and Kimon.

§ 3. Diokles.<sup>3</sup> 290/89 B.C.

The deme of the secretary<sup>4</sup> fixes the archon Diokles in 290/89 B.C., but even had this been wanting, the following reasons might have been urged<sup>5</sup> for placing him in this year: 1. In the pseudo-Plutarch<sup>6</sup> it is stated that Demochares, after having returned from exile in Diokles' archonship, went on an embassy to Antipatros and got from him twenty talents.<sup>7</sup> It is further stated by Eusebius<sup>8</sup> that Antipatros was put to death by Lysimachos of Thrace, and by Justin<sup>9</sup> that this murder took place at the very time in

<sup>1</sup> The only other possibility is that Philippos came between Lysias and Kimon.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 614 b, l. 11; Plut. Demet. XLV.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 309; IV 2, 309 b, c; [Plut.] X Orat. Vitae, p. 851 E.

<sup>4</sup> Cornell Studies, VII (1898), p. 50.

<sup>5</sup> Unger (Phil. XXXVIII (1879), p. 477 ff. and Suppl. V (1889), p. 693), Wilamowitz (Phil. Unter. IV (1881), p. 241 ff.), Ladek (Wiener Studien, XIII (1891), p. 116 ff.), and Spangenberg (De Ath. institutis, etc., p. 30) put Diokles in 290-89 B.C. Dittenberger (Hermes, II (1867), p. 305), Koehler (C.I.A. II, 309; IV 2, 309 b), Schoeffer (Pauly-Wissowa, II, p. 589), Droysen (Gesch. II<sup>2</sup>, 2, p. 300, n. 2), Schmidt (Handb. d. Chron. p. 604), Dumont (Essai, p. 118 and Fastes Épony. p. 55), and Meier? (Comment. Epig. p. 83) put him in 287-6 B.C. Schtschoukareff (Ath. Archons, p. 87 ff.), and Kirchner? (Indices to C.I.A. IV 2, p. 326) put him in 288-7 B.C. and Schubert (Hermes, X (1876), p. 447 ff.) in 301-0 B.C.

<sup>6</sup> X Orat. Vitae, p. 851 E.

<sup>7</sup> Thirlwall, VIII, p. 11, n. 1; Droysen, II<sup>2</sup>, 2, p. 247, n. 3; Clinton F. H. II, p. 465, n. t; Ladek, Wiener Studien, XIII, p. 120 f., and esp. Unger, Phil. XXXVIII, p. 485 ff.

<sup>8</sup> I, p. 232.

<sup>9</sup> XVI, 2, 2.



which Pyrrhos was driving Demetrios from Macedonia. Now the latest date for the expulsion of Demetrios is the beginning of 287/6 B.C.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore impossible for Diokles to have been archon in 287/6 B.C. or in any subsequent year. On the other hand there is no place for an archon before 290/89 B.C. 2. From C.I.A. II, 309<sup>2</sup> we learn that in Diokles' archonship certain Athenians or friends of Athens at Delphi were harboured and saved from death by an individual named Aischron. In close connection the *πυλάγοροι* are mentioned. These deputies were sent by different states to Delphi to attend the Amphictyonic Council only in the years of the Pythian games. 290/89 B.C. was, therefore, the regular year for the *πυλάγοροι* to convene at Delphi, and the fact that Demetrios had the Pythian games of 290/89 B.C. celebrated at Athens would not have affected the place of the Amphictyonic meeting. The fact that Athens was in this year at war with Delphi,<sup>3</sup> and that strong feeling must have been aroused by the disregard of prerogatives shown in the celebration of the Pythia at Athens, is on the other hand precisely what is needed to explain the violence offered to Athenian sympathizers on the occasion of the Amphictyonic gathering.

It is no objection that in 290/89 B.C. Demetrios would have prevented Demochares' return; for in 293/2 B.C. he is known to have granted just such a favor to a considerable body of political opponents.<sup>4</sup> Nor has the contention of Koehler,<sup>5</sup> that C.I.A. IV 2, 309 b makes 290/89 B.C. too early for Diokles, longer any weight when we deny that the *ἄφρακτοι* there mentioned are the ships of war which in 287 B.C.<sup>6</sup> attacked Demetrios' possessions in Greece.

<sup>1</sup> Unger, l. c. p. 472 ff.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 310 has an archon —ros. The secretary was apparently —ερω[. . . . . ρ] ασ—. The only archon between 307–6 and 278–7 B.C. whose name ends in —ros is Olympiodoros (294–3 B.C.).

<sup>3</sup> Plut. Demet. XL; cf. above p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Dion. Hal. De Dinarcho, p. 651 (Reiske).

<sup>5</sup> Note to C.I.A. IV 2, 309 b.

<sup>6</sup> Plut. Demet. XLIV.

§ 4. Diotimos,<sup>1</sup> Isaios,<sup>2</sup> and Euthios.<sup>3</sup> 289/8–287/6 B.C.

Those who assign Diokles to 287/6 B.C. give to Diotimos, Isaios, and Euthios the three years which follow. Unger, Ladek, Wilamowitz, and Schtschoukareff, who place Diokles a year or more earlier, give 287/6, 286/5, and 285/4 B.C. to this group. The demes of the secretaries demand for it 289/8, 288/7, and 287/6 B.C.; for the three names necessarily follow one another in the order given,<sup>4</sup> and Lysimachos who was murdered in 281/0 B.C. was still alive when Euthios was archon, and Spartokos IV of Bosphoros, who died in 284/3 B.C.,<sup>5</sup> was still on the throne in Diotimos year; so that the group must belong to the secretary period 293/2–282/1 B.C., and this being the case, the years mentioned are alone possible for it. It is obvious that the liberation and recovery of the city referred to in the decrees of Diotimos' and Euthios' years can in no way be identified with the expulsion of the Macedonian garrison from the Museion hill in the year 287/6 B.C. The correct interpretation of these references is suggested by C.I.A. II, 300. Here phrases identical with those used in the decrees of Diotimos' and Euthios' years occur. I give a collection of them for sake of comparison:

C.I.A. II, 300 (295/4 B.C. February).

[ἀπο]φαίνουσιν δ' αὐτὸν καὶ [οἱ πρίσβεις οἱ] πεμφθέντες ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Δημήτριον σ[υναγωνίσασθα]ι τῷ δήμῳ εἰς τὸ συντ[ελεσθῆναι τήν] τε φιλίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν [βασιλέα Δημήτρ]ιον καὶ ὅπως ἂν ὁ δῆμο[ς ἀπαλλαγείη το]ῦ πολέμου τὴν ταχίστ[ην καὶ κομισάμε]νος τὸ ἄστυ<sup>6</sup> δημοκρατ[ίαν ἔχει ἀπολαβ]ών.

<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. II, 311, 312, 313, Add. 313, 567; Usener, Epicurea, p. 133, l. 15 ff.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 314, l. 39, 567, Add. Nova, 567 b; Usener, Epicurea, p. 133, l. 20 ff., p. 134, l. 1. The first cited Epicurean fragment runs: εἰθ' [ῥ]στερον [τοὺς ἐχθίσ]τους κατα[λ]ύει[ν] Μακε[δόνας], ὡς τ[ό]τε ἐπ' [ῥ]Ἰσαίου γρά[φει]—. In 288–7 B. C. the subject of revolt from Macedon was evidently being canvassed. Even Epicurus was interested.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 314, Add. 314 b; IV 2, 314, 314 c.

<sup>4</sup> See C.I.A. II, 567 and 314.

<sup>5</sup> Diod. XX, 100.

<sup>6</sup> The word used, ἄστυ not πόλις, is noteworthy; cf. C.I.A. II, 385, l. 11, 379, l. 15.

C.I.A. II, 311 (289/8 B.C. January).

[ἔτι δὲ Σπάρτ]οκος ἀφικομένης πρεσβείας [παρ' Ἀθηναίων ἀκ]ούσας ὅτι ὁ δῆμος κεκόμιστ[αι τὸ ἄστυ συνήσ]θη τοῖς εὐτυχήμασ[ι] τοῦ δή[μου] καὶ δέδωκεν σίτ[ου] δωρεὰν μυρίους καὶ πε[ντακισχιλίου]ς με[δίμ]ονους.

C.I.A. II, 312 (289/8 B.C. June).

ἔ[πει]δὴ ὁ Παιόνων β[ασ]ιλεὺς [Α]ῦδω[λέω]ν ἔκ τε τῶν ἔμ[π]ροσθε χρόνων ε[ὔ]νους ἐστὶν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ[ι] Ἀθηνα[ί]ων χρείας παρεχόμεν[ο]σ[ι] καὶ συ[ν]εργῶν εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερί[αν] τῇ [π]όλει καὶ κομισαμένου [τ]οῦ δήμ[ου] τὸ ἄστυ πυθόμενος συ[ν]ήσθη τ[ο]ῖς γεγενημένοις εὐτυχήμασι νομίζων εἶναι κοινὴν καὶ αὐτ[ῶ]ι τὴν τῆς πόλεως σωτηρίαν, παρ[έ]χετα[ι] δὲ χρείας καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖ[ς] τε διατρίβουσιν Ἀθηναίων πα[ρ] ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοι[ς] εἰς τὴν χώραν, δέδωκεν δὲ καὶ [σ]ί[τ]ου δωρεὰν τῷ δήμῳ μεδίμ[ου]σ[ι] ἑπτακισχιλίουσ[ι] καὶ πεντα[κ]οσίουσ[ι] Μακεδονίας τοῖς ἰδιοῖ[ς] ἀναλώμασιν καταστήσας εἰς [το]ὺς λιμένας τοὺς τῆς πόλεως, ἐπ[α]γγέλλεται δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸ[ν] παρέξασθαι χρείας συνεργῶν [ε]ἰς τε τὴν τοῦ Πειραιέως κομ[ι]δῆν καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἐλευθερί[αν] ἀγαθεῖ τύχει δεδόχθαι κτλ.

C.I.A. II, 314 (287/6 B.C. August-September).

καὶ κομισαμένου τοῦ δήμου τὴν ἐλευθερίαν διατετέλεκε λέγων καὶ πράττων τὰ συμφέροντα τεί τῆς πόλεως σωτηρίᾳ καὶ παρακαλῶν τὸν βασιλέα βοηθεῖν καὶ χρήμασιν καὶ σίτῳ ὅπως ἂν διαμένει ὁ δῆμος ἐλεύθερος ὦν καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ κομίσσεται καὶ τὰ φρούρια τὴν ταχίστην, καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων π[ά]ντων πολλάκις μεμαρτύρηκεν αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τοὺς π[ρ]εσβεύοντας Ἀθηναίων πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, καὶ χειροτον[ηθεῖ]σ[ι] ἀγωνοθέτης ἐπὶ Ἰσαίου ἄρχοντος ὑπήκουσε[ν] τῷ δήμῳ ἐθελοντῆς ἐκκτῶν ἰδίων τάς τε πατρίο[υ]σ[ι] θυσία[ς] ἔθυσεν τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῇ[ν].....[ν] ἔδωκεν πᾶσιν Ἀθηναίοις πάντας τοὺς [.....]σ[ι], καὶ ἐπί[θ]ετον ἀγῶνα κατεσκευάσεν τεί Δῆμ[ητρι] καὶ τῇ Κόρη[ι] [πρ]ῶτος ὑπόμνημα τῆς τοῦ δήμου [ἐλευθερίας] κτλ.

It seems to me very clear that the phrases κομισάμενος τὸ ἄστυ, ὅτι ὁ δῆμος κεκόμισται τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ κομισαμένου τοῦ δήμου τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ κομισαμένου τοῦ δήμου τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, refer to one and the same incident. If that is so, the first occurrence of the phrase in 295/4 B.C. precludes any possibility of its denoting that recovery of the city which followed Demetrios' expulsion from Macedon. For in 295/4 B.C., as the rest of C.I.A. II, 300 in itself shows, it was in connection with the deliverance of the city from the tyranny of Lachares that the words were used, and to this same deliverance

the decrees of Diotimos' and Euthios' archonships also undoubtedly refer. It was in memory of this deliverance too that in 288/7 B.C. Philippides, perhaps reminded by the tributes paid to the slayers of Hipparchos,<sup>1</sup> *πρῶτος* instituted a new contest in honor of Demeter and Kore. The view of Wilamowitz' and Holm<sup>2</sup> is that Lachares was a "much abused" man "who, when Demetrius gained a footing in Attica and occupied Eleusis and Rhamnus, made himself master of the city and was decried as a tyrant, partly no doubt because he enforced strict discipline among the besieged". In this view it is not easy to believe that the citizens of Athens, whose sturdy independence of character Holm rightly admires, when their fear of Demetrius was already much lessened, still continued to look upon the expulsion of Lachares as a restoration of their democratic liberties, a piece of good fortune for which foreign kings might congratulate them, and a fit subject for an opponent of Demetrius to commemorate with memorial games. But on what is the Wilamowitz-Holm view based? Certainly not on the literary tradition. As Wilamowitz himself says "die überlieferung über diesen mann ist sich darüber einig, dass er ein scheusslicher tyrann war."<sup>4</sup> Polyaeus,<sup>5</sup> Athenaeus,<sup>6</sup> and Plutarch<sup>7</sup> have nothing good to say for him, and Pausanias<sup>8</sup> terms him *τυράννων ὧν ἴδμεν τά τε ἐς ἀνθρώπους μάλιστα ἀνήμερον καὶ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀφειδέστατον*. The unanimous testimony of the ancient writers has been set aside, mainly because it was natural to suppose that the Athenians made Lachares the scapegoat to which to divert Demetrius' anger when he got control of their city after the long siege. Thirlwall<sup>9</sup> and Droysen,<sup>10</sup> however, have rightly held to the tradition.

<sup>1</sup> See Diod. XX, 46; C.I.A. II, 300, l. 39 f.

<sup>2</sup> Phil. Unter. IV, p. 199 f.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. of Greece, ET. IV, pp. 51 and 77.

<sup>4</sup> Phil. Unter. IV, p. 237.

<sup>5</sup> Strateg. III, 7.

<sup>6</sup> IX, 70.

<sup>7</sup> Is. et Osir. 71.

<sup>8</sup> I, 25, 7; 29, 16.

<sup>9</sup> Hist. of Greece, VIII, p. 11 f.

<sup>10</sup> Gesch. d. Hell. II<sup>2</sup>, 2, p. 251.

Since therefore Lachares was such a cruel and detestable tyrant, the Athenians, as Thumser says,<sup>1</sup> 'must have been glad to fall into Demetrios' hands for a third time'. It was undoubtedly politic on their part to acknowledge Demetrios' claims to be their liberator. I think however that we have evidence in the decrees before us of such lasting satisfaction on the part of the Athenians at the downfall of Lachares, that nothing short of the absolute destruction of all the democratic forms of government pointed to by C.I.A. II, 299 could have been his crime, and that only the epithets of Pausanias can adequately characterize him.

I am convinced that Dittenberger,<sup>2</sup> Thumser,<sup>3</sup> Wilamowitz,<sup>4</sup> Wachsmuth,<sup>5</sup> and others are right in holding that C.I.A. II, 314, l. 32ff. shows that in the middle of the third month of Euthios' year ὁ Πειραιεὺς καὶ τὰ φρούρια were not yet in the possession of the δῆμος. Therefore it was not till after the month of August 287 B.C. that the Athenians under the command of Olympiodoros drove the Macedonian garrison from the Museion, and revolted from Demetrios. And indeed an earlier date is hardly possible if we pay any regard to Plutarch's narrative.<sup>6</sup>

Had Euthios been archon in 285/4 or 284/3 B.C., there must have been Macedonian garrisons in 'the Peiraieus and the forts' for more than two or three years after the expulsion of Demetrios from Macedon. The difficulties of this supposition were so palpable that Zink vainly denied the fact, and Koumanoudes placed Euthios before 287/6 B.C.<sup>7</sup> The most apparent of those difficulties are :

1. Pausanias in speaking of the storming of the Museion says : 'Αθῆναι μὲν οὕτως ἀπὸ Μακεδόνων ἠλευθερώθησαν.'<sup>8</sup> It was

<sup>1</sup> Hermann, *Lehrb.* I<sup>6</sup>, p. 776.

<sup>2</sup> *Hermes*, II (1867), p. 285 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *op. cit.* p. 777.

<sup>4</sup> *Phil. Unter.* IV, p. 257.

<sup>5</sup> *Die Stadt Athen*, I, p. 620, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Unger, *Phil.* XXXVIII (1879), p. 476.

<sup>7</sup> See Dittenberger, *Hermes*, II (1867), p. 286 and 294.

<sup>8</sup> I, 26, 2 ; of course this expression may mean no more than the "Antigonus Atheniensibus rursus dedit libertatem" used by Eusebius (II, p. 120) in reference to the events of 256 B.C.

indeed a doubtful freedom that was theirs when the Peiraieus, Munychia, Salamis, Panakton, Phyle,<sup>1</sup> Eleusis,<sup>2</sup> etc., were held by hostile and now aggravated garrisons.

2. When Pyrrhos followed Demetrios into Greece in 287/6 B.C. he forced him to abandon the siege of Athens by backing the supplications of the philosopher Krates with his victorious army. It is inconceivable that he should have made a triumphal entry into the city without having first driven the garrisons of Demetrios from Munychia and the Peiraieus. To be sure his advice to the Athenians to receive no more kings within their gates would have been under these circumstances anything but acceptable.<sup>3</sup>

3. The fact that not only the Peiraieus but also τὰ φρούρια<sup>4</sup> were not yet in the hands of the Athenians presents difficulties under the current hypothesis. For although both Plutarch and Pausanias are unusually explicit in describing how it came about that Munychia, the Museion, and Peiraieus were occupied,<sup>5</sup> we have no knowledge that Demetrios ever had garrisons in Attica in more than these three places. As the Museion was recovered in 287/6 B.C., Munychia is alone left to be designated τὰ φρούρια. Nor can we suppose with Wachsmuth<sup>6</sup> that Demetrios did occupy Salamis, Panakton, and Phyle, although no record of such an occupation is extant; for in the years 292/1, 291/0, and 290/89 B.C. we find not Macedonian but Athenian garrisons in Panakton, Phyle, and Eleusis.<sup>7</sup> That τὰ φρούρια mean Munychia, Salamis, Sunion, etc., is unlikely, and indeed that Demetrios put a garrison in Salamis or Sunion, and left the other places unguarded, is as improbable as it is unattested. When Antigonos Gonatas, at the termination of the Chremonidean War, did garrison Salamis and Sunion, as well as the Museion and Munychia, we have explicit testimony to the fact.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, I, p. 620, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Wilamowitz, *Phil. Unter*. IV, p. 255 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Plut. Pyrrhos*, XII; cf. Unger, *Phil. XXXVIII* (1879), p. 476.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 10; cf. *C.I.A.* II, 385, l. 11; IV 2, 591 b, l. 8 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Plut. Demet.* XXXIV; *Paus.* I, 25, 7.

<sup>6</sup> *Die Stadt Athen*, I, p. 620, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *C.I.A.* IV 2, 614 b.

<sup>8</sup> *Paus.* II, 8, 6; cf. III, 6, 6; *C.I.A.* IV 2, 591 b.

4. In or shortly before the month of June of the year 286 or 285 B.C. (according to the current chronology) the gift of corn from Audoleon, King of the Paeonians, was landed *in the harbours of the state*.<sup>1</sup> Of course it may be urged that the peace made by Pyrrhos with Demetrios<sup>2</sup> stipulated for the Athenians free use of the Peiraieus and Munychia for commercial purposes; but we have no evidence that the Athenians were parties to this peace at all, and the least likely thing for a hostile garrison in the Peiraieus to do, would be to admit provisions into the revolted city. If the peace is held to have gained for Athens this privilege, how did the gift of corn from Spartokos,<sup>3</sup> which according to the calculations of Unger<sup>4</sup> reached Athens long before the peace was made, get access to the city and that without any apparent difficulty? Or if this is thought to be dated by Unger, Wilamowitz, Ladek, Schtschoukareff, Spangenberg, and others a year too early, how came it that a like facility of admittance was found for the corn which the unprotected transport ships of Ptolemy<sup>5</sup> brought in the first month of the year 287/6 B.C., according to the chronology of Koehler, Schoeffer, Dittenberger, Droysen, and others? Before the storming of the Museion on the other hand, garrisons in Munychia and the Peiraieus could have had no reason for preventing the free entrance of provisions.

The following passage from Plutarch has been cited to prove the continuation of Demetrios' garrisons in Athens after its revolt: ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ τύχῃ γεγονῶς (when made prisoners by Seleukos in 285 B.C.) ἐπέστειλε τοῖς περὶ τὸν υἷον καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἀθήνας καὶ Κόρινθον ἡγεμόσι καὶ φίλοις μήτε γράμμασιν αὐτοῦ μήτε σφραγίδι πιστεύειν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τεθηκότος Ἀντιγόνου τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πράγματα διαφυλάττειν.<sup>6</sup> The leaders of the pro-Demetrian party at Athens may be all that is meant, or the ἡγεμόνες may

<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. II, 312.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. Pyrrhos, XII; in May 286 B.C. according to Wilamowitz (Phil. Unter. IV, p. 248).

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 311.

<sup>4</sup> Phil. XXXVIII (1879), p. 476.

<sup>5</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 309 b; in the fall of 286 B.C. Demetrios was still in control of the sea (Plut. Demet. XLVI).

<sup>6</sup> Plut. Demet. LI.

have been at Corinth and the φίλοι at Athens. Τὰς πόλεις could not include Athens on any interpretation.

The situation at Athens after 296/5 B.C. may be summed up as follows: All parties rejoiced alike at their deliverance from the oppression of Lachares,<sup>1</sup> and with good reason, for the city was promised, and we now know actually obtained, complete autonomy.<sup>2</sup> Few however bore patiently the presence of the garrisons of Demetrios in Munychia and the Peiraeus. As a result the distinguished general Phaidros was sent on an embassy to Demetrios' enemy Ptolemy Lagos,<sup>3</sup> and an attack was actually planned against the garrison in the Peiraeus, but treachery caused it to fail.<sup>4</sup> The disclosure thereby made of the aims of the popular leaders probably had something to do with the return in 293/2 B.C. of Deinarchos and the other aristocrats who had supported Demetrios of Phaleron.<sup>5</sup> It may have been in consequence of this attempt also that the Museion was garrisoned by Demetrios.<sup>6</sup> Then came the war with the Aetolians, during which the Athenians defended their territory from pillaging expeditions<sup>7</sup> by means of garrisons at Panakton, Phyle, and Eleusis.<sup>8</sup> In 290/89 Demetrios came to Athens, was received with ostentatious joy, and celebrated the Pythian games there. In the same year Demochares his inveterate opponent returned from exile. A vivid picture of the position and feelings of the Athenians during this year and the two which follow is presented to us in the decrees.<sup>9</sup> Demochares was closely in touch with the kings opposed to Demetrios, and had the people with him.<sup>10</sup> He went in

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias (I, 25, 7) uses of this event the phrase Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ Ἀντιγόνην τυράννων ἐλευθερώσας Ἀθηναίους κτλ.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. besides the decrees quoted in n. 9 below, the following passage from C.I.A. II, 331, l. 38 f.: καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλευθέραν καὶ δημοκρατουμένην αὐτόνομον παρέδωκεν καὶ τοὺς νόμους κυρίους τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτὸν.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 331, l. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. I, 29, 10; Polyae. V, 17.

<sup>5</sup> Dion. Hal. De Dinarcho, IX= p. 651.

<sup>6</sup> Paus. I, 25, 7.

<sup>7</sup> C.I.A. II, 331, l. 35 ff.; IV 2, 614 b, l. 66 f.

<sup>8</sup> See above under Lysias.

<sup>9</sup> [Plut.] X Orat. Vitae, p. 851 D; C.I.A. II, 311, 312, 314; IV 2, 309 b.

<sup>10</sup> He probably received the office ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει and so was able to re-trench the state expenses. The reason why he could hold this position and



person as ambassador to Lysimachos and Antipatros, and brought home 150 talents of silver for the state. On his motion an embassy went to Ptolemy and got 50 talents. In addition embassies were sent to Pyrrhos' father-in-law, Audoleon King of the Paeonians, and to Spartokos of Bithynia, and returned with gifts of provisions and congratulations on their independence—an independence to be sure with which it was not inconsistent for King Audoleon to promise that he *καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν παρέξομαι χρεῖας συνεργῶν* [ε]ἰς τε τὴν τοῦ Πειραιέως κομ[δῆ]ν καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἐλευθερί[α]ν. Wilamowitz remarks: "müssen doch bedeutendere geldmittel und ein ziemlich durchdachter plan vorgelegen haben, als im sommer 287 die nachricht von dem sturz des Demetrios nach Athen kam und ein sofortiges aufflammen der empörung zur folge hatte."<sup>1</sup> Of these we now have plenty of evidence.

Meanwhile the soldiers in the garrisons either did not attempt, or did not suffice to intimidate the people. The disaffection with Demetrios, which so signally manifested itself among the Macedonian troops when Pyrrhos invaded their country in 288/7 B.C., was also prevalent among the men in garrison at Athens. Indeed Strombichos, one of the two captains, was on intimate terms with the Athenians, and when the citizens rose in arms under Olympiodoros in 287/6 B.C., he deserted his fellow leader Spintharos and aided in the storming of the Museion.<sup>2</sup> The apathetic attitude of the garrisons<sup>3</sup> and the absence of Demetrios<sup>4</sup> explain the apparent boldness of the Athenians in carrying on negotiations with

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yet ἀρχὴν οὐδεμίαν ἀρχειν καταλελυκὸς τοῦ δήμου is simply that the democracy was between 296-5 and 287-6 B.C. completely in control of the government.

<sup>1</sup> Phil. Unter. IV, p. 205; cf. Unger, Phil. XXXVIII (1879), p. 484 ff.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 317.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the expression used in C.I.A. IV 2, 371 c, l. 12 (246-4 B.C.): [κ]αὶ μνηστῆρας διατετέ[λ]εκεν (Ἀριστῆμαχος) πο[ιού]μενος πε[ρὶ τῆς ἐ]λευ[θ]ερίας [τ]οῦ δήμου τὴν ἀρισ[τῆ]ν ἐμ παντ[ὶ καιρῷ]. The garrisons in the Peiraeus, Salamis, Munychia, and Sunion did not succeed, at this time even, in stifling the expression of their desire for liberty. Nor did they prevent the Athenians from negotiating with Attalos I in 237-6 (C.I.A. II, 384), and with Ptolemy III in 234-3 (C.I.A. II, 381), and in 232-1 B.C. ('Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1897, p. 42 ff., no. 13), both enemies of the Macedonian King.

<sup>4</sup> It has been thought, on the basis of Plutarch, Demet. XLII, that Demetrios was never in Athens after 290-89 B.C..

Ptolemy and Lysimachos. It is noteworthy, however, that in none of the decrees of the years 290/89 and 289/8 B.C. is there the slightest reference to Demetrios. It is only in Aug.—Sept. of 287/6 B.C., after the expulsion of Demetrios from Macedon and before he had gathered his forces together again, that the Athenians refer to him in terms that might be thought at all uncomplimentary.<sup>1</sup> At the time at which the Museion was stormed, Demetrios was again formidable. He at once moved into Attica to support his garrisons in Munychia and the Peiraieus, but the advent of Pyrrhos with his powerful army forced him to retreat. It was most probably at this time that he withdrew such of his troops as remained loyal to him at Athens; for to leave them there, between the citizens on the one hand and Pyrrhos on the other, would have been only to sacrifice them. We have sufficient proof that these places were evacuated. Otherwise the capture of Munychia and the Peiraieus, not that of the Museion alone, would have been cited in the list of Olympiodoros' achievements. The most noteworthy service too, which Strombichos rendered to the city—indeed the only one singled out for specific commendation—was his assistance in storming the Museion. Had Munychia and the Peiraieus been taken by force that fact would surely have been mentioned in our decrees<sup>2</sup> of the year 282/1 B.C.

§ 5. Xenophon.<sup>3</sup> 286/5 B.C.

In C.I.A. II, 331, l. 30ff. we read as follows: *χειροτονηθεῖς δὲ (Φαῖδρος) ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐπὶ τὰ δπλα στρατηγὸς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν ἐπὶ Κίμωνος ἄρχοντος διετέλεσεν ἀγωνιζόμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας καὶ περιστάτων τεῖ πόλει καιρῶν δυσκόλων διεφύλαξεν τὴν εἰρήνην τῇ χώρᾳ ἀποφαινόμενος αἰεὶ τὰ κράτιστα, καὶ τὸν σίτον ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καρποὺς αἴτιος ἐγένετο εἰσκομισθῆναι συμβουλευσας τῷ δήμῳ συντελέσαι (erasure of c. 38 letters) καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλευθέραν καὶ δημοκρατουμένην αὐτόνομον παρέδωκεν καὶ τοὺς νόμους κυρίου τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτὸν (erasure of c. 51 letters) διετέλεσε καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων ἀγαθὸν ὅτι ἡδύνατο ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου (erasure of c. 71 letters) χειροτονηθεῖς ἐπὶ*

<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. II, 314.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 317, 318.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 331, l. 45.

τὰ ὄπλα πρῶτος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στρατηγὸς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν ἐπὶ Ξενοφώντος ἄρχοντος διετέλεσε πάντα πράττων ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς τε νόμοις καὶ τοῖς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου ψηφίσμασιν (erasure of 4 or 5 lines) καὶ ἀγνωσθ(έ)της χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐπὶ Νικίου ἄρχοντος ἐπεμελήθη κτλ.

The secretary for Xenophon's archonship is unknown. It is evident, however, that Xenophon must fall between Kimon (291/0 B.C.) and Nikias (282/1 B.C.). This being the case, only 286/5 and 284/3 B.C. are possible for him. After *δήμου* in the tenth line of the above quotation there was some reference to the King of Macedon, as the excision of the passage shows. The erasure after *ἐαυτόν* is of like significance.<sup>1</sup> Between 291/0 and 283/2 B.C. we know of only one year, 287/6 B.C., in which events, of sufficient importance to mark it as the last of an era, and likely to involve the Athenians with the Macedonian King, took place. The important point, as Dittenberger has already seen,<sup>2</sup> is that Phaidros was the first person to be chosen general *ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα* after the year in which these events took place. 286/5 B.C. is therefore to be preferred for Xenophon.

§ 6. *Urios*.<sup>3</sup> 285/4 B.C.

The secretary furnished by C.I.A. IV 2, 345 c<sup>4</sup> belongs to the tribe Kekropis. The general determination of the date on the basis of the lettering and the fact that his year precedes the death of Epicurus in 271/0 B.C. limit this archon to the two years 285/4 and 273/2 B.C. That the earlier date is to be preferred is clear from the following statement in Philodemos:<sup>5</sup> *ἐπὶ δ' Ἰσαίου* (288/7 B.C.) *καὶ γέγραφεν* (Epicurus) ...*νεν*.....*ισ*... [*ἐπὶ*] δ' *Οὐδ[ρ]ίου*

<sup>1</sup> The friendship between Athens and Antigonos Gonatas at the time this decree was passed (c. 273 B.C.) led to the insertion of many passages, which in 200 B.C. the state, in its anger at the house of Philip, excised.

<sup>2</sup> *Sylloge*, 162, note 16.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 345 c; Usener, *Epicurea*, p. 134, note on l. 2. The restoration 'Euthios' is incorrect.

<sup>4</sup> Here we learn that the people of Tenos in 285-4 B.C. renewed their fore-time intimacy with the Athenians.

<sup>5</sup> *Πραγματεῖαι*, Vol. Hercul.<sup>2</sup> I, 129; cf. Usener, l. c. Joh. E. Kirchner (*Rhein. Mus.* LIII (1898), p. 386 f.) on the evidence of Philodemos alone assigns *Urios* to either 284-3 or 283-2 B.C. See also Unger, *Phil.* XXXVIII (1879), p. 465, and Gomperz, *Hermes*, V (1871), p. 395.

Λεοντεί προγράψα[ν]τες, πάλι[ν] δὲ καὶ Ἐπίκουρος [πρὸς] Μίθρην. The conjunction of Urios and Isaios is not the only indication of date. The mention of the name Mithras is also significant.<sup>1</sup> As a result of a correspondence carried on with this individual it was, says Diogenes Laertius,<sup>2</sup> maliciously asserted of Epicurus that he “Μίθρην αἰσχρῶς κολακεύειν τὸν Λυσιμάχου διοικητὴν, ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς παιᾶνα καὶ ἄνακτα καλοῦντα.” Obviously had these letters been written after the murder of Lysimachos in 281/0 B.C. there would have been no occasion for the accusation that he paid shameless court to a king’s favourite.

§ 7. Telokles.<sup>3</sup> 284/3 B.C.

The approximate date of this archon is indicated by the fact that Νικοκράτης Ἀρχεμάχου Φηγαίου, who was a senator in Telokles’ year, made a motion at an assembly of φυλέται in Isaios’ year (288/7 B.C.).<sup>4</sup> If Gomperz has correctly restored the following Philodemos fragment,<sup>5</sup> Telokles must be assigned to 284/3 B.C. : καὶ τὸ πρὸς Μί[θραν] ἐπὶ Τη[λο]κλ[έ]ους. A letter from Epicurus to Mithras cannot well be dated later than 281/0 B.C. and before that year 284/3 B.C. is alone unoccupied. In place of Μί[θραν], however, Usener writes Μ[ῦν].<sup>6</sup> Μ[ῦς] was a slave of Epicurus and survived his master.<sup>7</sup> Accordingly on the basis of the Philodemos’ fragment we cannot do more than say that Telokles was archon in one of the vacant years before 271/0 B.C. But C.I.A. IV 2, 318 c enables us to define him with greater exactness. Foucart, whom Koehler follows,<sup>8</sup> dates this decree in Telokles’ archonship.

<sup>1</sup> Plut. Adv. Colot. 33, 2 ; non posse suaviter vivi, 15, 15 ; Diog. Laert. II, 102 ; X, 4 and 28 ; cf. Huebner, Diog. Laert. IV, p. 507.

<sup>2</sup> X, 4.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 318 c (Wilhelm has made some further, as yet unpublished, additions to this inscription) ; Add. 318 c ; II, 1158 ; Philodemos, quoted by Gomperz, Z. f. ö. G. XVII (1866), p. 694, and by Usener, Epicurea, p. 134.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II, 1158 (Koehler’s note), 567.

<sup>5</sup> Z. f. ö. G. XVII (1866), p. 694.

<sup>6</sup> Epicurea, p. 134.

<sup>7</sup> Diog. Laert. X, 3, 10 ; Gell. N. A. II, 18 ; Macrob. Sat. I, 11, 42.

<sup>8</sup> C.I.A. IV 2 Add. 318 c, p. 296. This is the weakest point: it is not certain that Telokles should be restored in C.I.A. IV 2, 318 c.

Assuming this to be correct, then Telokles must have been archon before 280 B.C., *i.e.*, before the death of Seleukos Nikator; for in his archonship an Athenian, Komeas by name, went on an embassy to the king on behalf of the Kleruchs of Lemnos.<sup>1</sup> But on the testimony of Phylarchos,<sup>2</sup> Koehler determines that until the battle of Korupedion the island of Lemnos was under the thumb of Lysimachos, and could therefore have sent an ambassador to Seleukos only in the year 281 B.C.<sup>3</sup> Telokles, however, cannot have been archon in any year between 283/2 and 278/7 B.C., nor can C.I.A. IV 2, 318 c have been passed in 281/0 B.C.; for the secretary in 281/0 B.C. had in his name twenty-six letters,<sup>4</sup> whereas in C.I.A. IV 2, 318 c the name of the secretary occupied only twenty-one spaces. Moreover at the time the decree was passed the Athenians had control of the island of Lemnos. By them the decree of the Kleruchs had to be ratified and, as during the fourth century, an Athenian hipparch was stationed there. It was as representative of Athenian interests consequently that the hipparch Komeas negotiated with King Seleukos. This certainly does not accord with the situation at Lemnos when Seleukos intervened in or about 281 B.C. From 281 until 229 B.C. Lemnos remained independent of Athens.<sup>5</sup> Only before Lysimachos got possession of the island can we explain the circumstances under which our decree was passed. Unfortunately we do not know when this happened, nor do we know when the Athenians recovered Lemnos after they lost it in 317 B.C. Koehler, with much probability, concludes that it was in 307/6 B.C.<sup>6</sup> Whether it remained with Athens between 296/5 and 287/6 B.C. is unknown. At any rate there is a strong probability that, when in 285/4 B.C. the people of Tenos were re-admitted to the right of

<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 318 c, frg. d, l. 22 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Athen. VI, 254 f.

<sup>3</sup> Note to C.I.A. IV 2, 318 c.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 331 b, and below p. 22, § 9.

<sup>5</sup> Athen. VI, 254 f.; for the history of Lemnos see Koehler, *Mith.* I (1876), p. 261 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. C.I.A. II, 284, and 268 which Wilhelm (*Jahreshefte d. ö. arch. Instit.* in Wien, I (1898), Beiblatt Sp. 47), joins with C.I.A. IV 2, 264 c.

*ισοπέλεια* with Athens,<sup>1</sup> Lemnos was already Athenian. Nothing therefore stands in the way of our ascribing Telokles to 284/3 B.C., to which year he must belong if he precedes 280 B.C.

§ 8. Menekles<sup>2</sup> and Nikias Ὀτρυνεύς.<sup>3</sup> 283/2-282/1 B.C.

C.I.A. II, 316, l. 7 f. shows that Menekles immediately preceded Nikias Ὀτρυνεύς. Under the latter of the two were passed C.I.A. II, 317 and 318. These contain references to the storming of the Museion, and were passed during the lifetime of Strombichos, one of Demetrios' captains in Athens between 296/5 and 287/6 B.C. The secretaries for both these archons are known and give us as possibilities 283/2, 282/1 B.C. and 259/8, 258/7 B.C.<sup>4</sup> Between these the evidence of C.I.A. II, 317 and 318 can leave us no choice whatever; for it is utterly inconceivable that 29 years elapsed between the rendering of the services by Strombichos and the passing of these decrees commending them. Moreover in C.I.A. II, 316, l. 12 it is stated that the Athenian ephebes garrisoned the Museion during Menekles' year<sup>5</sup>, whereas we know<sup>6</sup> that in 259/8 B.C. the Museion was in the possession of the soldiers of Antigonos Gonatas. Further it is asserted by Wilamowitz<sup>7</sup> that the peculiar angular lettering of the decrees of these two archonships is shared by C.I.A. II, 320. Hence he concludes that C.I.A. II, 320 belongs to one of these two years. This decree, however, is a bestowal of citizenship on Bithys<sup>8</sup> a courtier of King Lysimachos and hence was passed prior to 281/0 B.C.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 345 c; cf. above p. 29, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 315, 316; IV 2, 614 c.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 316, 317, 318, 331, l. 53 f., 614, l. 6, 1291; IV 2, 318 b.

<sup>4</sup> 271-0 and 270-69 B.C. are excluded because 271-0 B.C. is already occupied by Pytharatos; see below p. 44. 247-6 and 246-5 B. C. are altogether out of the question.

<sup>5</sup> For another reference (?) to the war which took place in this year see C. I.A. II, 341, l. 15. A garrison of Athenians was also stationed at Eleusis; see C.I.A. IV 2, 614 c. Antigonos Gonatas was probably concerned in it; see C.I.A. II, 331, l. 47 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Paus. II, 8, 6; III, 6, 6; Euseb. II, p. 120; cf. Gilbert, Gk. Const. Antiq. ET. p. 161 and n. 4; Holm, ET. IV, p. 199 and p. 207 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Phil. Unter. IV, p. 246; cf. Ditt. Syll. 144, note 1.

<sup>8</sup> Athen. VI, 49; XIV, 3.

<sup>9</sup> See also below § 16.

§ 9. **Aristonymos.**<sup>1</sup> 281/0 B.C.

An epistle of Epicurus is dated in Aristonymos' archonship. Since Epicurus died in 271/0 B.C., and the secretary for Aristonymos' year belongs to the tribe Antigonis, Aristonymos must have been archon in 281/0 B.C. This is the name therefore that must be restored in the preamble of C.I.A. II, 614; for this decree was passed in the archonship of Nikias' successor.

§ 10. **Gorgias.**<sup>2</sup> 280/79 B.C.

Plutarch places Gorgias in the tenth year before Pytharatos, *i.e.*, before 271/0 B.C.<sup>3</sup> His year is therefore 280/79 B.C.

§ 11. **Anaxikrates**<sup>4</sup> and **Demokles.**<sup>5</sup> 279/8–278/7 B.C.

These archons are dated by Pausanias in the second and third years respectively of the 125th olympiad, *i.e.*, in 279/8 and 278/7 B.C. The statement of Diogenes Laertius that Metrodoros' death occurred seven years before that of his master Epicurus (271/0 B.C.), when supplemented by the testimony of Philodemos that Metrodoros died in Demokles' archonship, vouches for the correctness of Pausanias' assertion.

§ 12. (.) . . . **laios.**<sup>6</sup> 277/6 B.C. ?

A letter was written by Epicurus in this archonship. It therefore belongs somewhere between 278/7 and 271/0 B.C.

§ 13. **Kleomachos.**<sup>7</sup> 276/5 B.C. ?

At the time of Kleomachos' archonship the tribe Ptolemais had not yet been created. The possibilities allowed by the secretary's tribe are 276/5 and 240/39 B.C. For 252/1 B.C. Thersilochos is a preferable candidate. In two inscriptions, one belonging to the middle<sup>8</sup> and the other to the latter half<sup>9</sup> of the fourth century,

<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 331 b; II, 614; Usener, *Epicurea*, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> [Plut.] X *Orat. Vitae*, p. 847 D.

<sup>3</sup> See below § 17.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II, 1193; Paus. X, 23, 14.

<sup>5</sup> C.I.A. II, 321; IV 2, 615 b; Paus. X, 23, 14; Usener, *Epicurea*, p. 368; cf. Gomperz, *Hermes*, V (1871), p. 387.

<sup>6</sup> Usener, *Epicurea*, p. 134.

<sup>7</sup> C.I.A. II, 336.

<sup>8</sup> C.I.A. II, 870.

<sup>9</sup> C.I.A. II, 1028.

there are found the names of two persons, one of whom may be the father of the fourth *συμπρόεδρος* and the other the father of the secretary of C.I.A. II, 336. If this is so, there exists a slight reason for preferring the earlier year for Kleomachos.

§ 14. **Polyeuktos<sup>1</sup> and Hieron.<sup>2</sup> 275/4-274/3 B.C.**

That Polyeuktos and Hieron held office in the order given is shown by C.I.A. IV 2, 323b. In the earlier year, on the thirtieth of the 9th prytany, the Athenians passed a decree accepting the invitation of the Aetolians to take part in the Soteria, musical and gymnastic games which they were instituting in commemoration of the repulse of the barbarians from the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi.<sup>3</sup> A Chian decree of similar purport, passed like the Athenian in the generalship of Charixenos in Aetolia, was found by the French at Delphi. It is thought too that a sepulchral vase from Alexandria bears the epitaph of a Delphian who died while at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus for the purpose of extending a similar invitation to him.

In 279/8 B.C. the Gauls were driven with great loss from Delphi: in the following year bands of them still roved through Greece<sup>4</sup>: in 277/6 B.C. their last inroad was checked by Antigonos Gonatas,<sup>5</sup> but not until their main body had got definitely settled in Central Asia Minor<sup>6</sup> could Greece feel secure.

The secretaries demand for Polyeuktos and Hieron the years 275/4 and 274/3 B.C. Since it was in the latter part of the year 275/4 B.C. that the request was made at Athens, it is likely that it was not till the following year that the Soteria were first celebrated. Indeed if, as is probable, the Soteria were held in the month Bukatios (Metageitnion) at the same time as the Pythia and under the same presidency as the Pythia, it was with peculiar

<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. II, 322, 323, 324; Ditt. Syll. 150.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 323 b; for the general location of Polyeuktos see Dumont, *Essai*, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *ὑπόμνημα* [τῆς αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας καὶ τῆς νίκης τῆς γενομένης πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους τοὺς [ἐπιστρατεύσαντας ἐ]πὶ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας].

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II, 321.

<sup>5</sup> XXV, 2; cf. Thirlwall, VIII, p. 72.

<sup>6</sup> In about 275 B.C. according to Holm, *ET*. IV, p. 96.



appropriateness that they should have been instituted in the third year of an olympiad. That this was the case Pomtow's plausible restoration of the Chian decree above referred to—*γίνεσ[θαι δὲ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν] τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῶν θεωρῶν καθ' ἐκάστην πενταετηρίδα ὅταν κ[αὶ οἱ εἰς τὰ Πύθια καθιστ]ῶνται*—goes far to prove.<sup>1</sup> Hence the games to commemorate the defeat of the Gauls at Delphi were instituted only when all the states composing the Amphictyonic League could breathe freely again. The preceding Pythia came in the midst of the danger.

But the Soteria were a penteteris<sup>2</sup>, and on one known occasion (197/6 B.C.) were held in the fourth year of an olympiad. Therefore the first celebration must have been in 277/6 B.C. So scholars have reasoned, following Dittenberger<sup>3</sup>. But Dittenberger himself has shown that in the time in which this 'one known occasion' falls, the Soteria were no longer a quadrennial but an annual festival. He therefore withdrew his statement that the games came in the fourth year of an olympiad<sup>4</sup>. Further it is now pretty evident that the Soteria were never a penteteris at all; for, since Dittenberger's *Sylloge* appeared, Reisch<sup>5</sup> and Pomtow<sup>6</sup> have shown that the 'one known occasion' is not known, and that in place of being in the year 197/6 B.C., it belongs in the neighborhood of 270 B.C. What the Chians do, when they accept the invitation extended by the Aetolians, is to select *theoroi καθ' ἐκάστην πενταετηρίδα* for the included years not for each fourth year. Few, however, have noticed these facts and the earlier assertion of Dittenberger forms the basis for dating the Alexandrian vase inscription referred to. This reads as follows: *Λ Θ Σωτίων Κλέωνος Δελφὸς θεωρὸς τὰ Σωτήρια ἐπανγέλλων· διὰ Θεοδότου ἀγοραστοῦ.*<sup>7</sup> The only 9th year of any Ptolemy, which

<sup>1</sup> *Fasti Delphici*, N. Jahrb. f. cl. Phil. CXLIX (1894), p. 505 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ditt. Syll.* 150, l. 29.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 149, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 404, note 1, p. 593.

<sup>5</sup> *De musicis Graecorum certaminibus*, 1885, p. 88 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Fasti Delphici*, l. c.

<sup>7</sup> *Merriam*, A.J.A. I (1885), pp. 22 and 30 ff.; *Strack*, *Rhein. Mus.* LIII (1898), p. 413, n. 1; *Wilcken*, *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1895, p. 142; *Néroutso-Bey*, *Rev. Arch.* III, 10 (1887), p. 64 and *L'ancienne Alexandrie*, p. 113 f. The latter places the epitaph in Euergetes' reign.

was at the same time the fourth of an olympiad, was 277/6 B.C. in Philadelphus' reign. Therefore, we are told, Sotion was one of those who came to Alexandria to announce the institution of the Soteria. Since the Soteria did not to our knowledge fall exclusively in the fourth year of an olympiad, it is evident that this dating has no foundation whatever,<sup>1</sup> inasmuch as theoroi were customarily sent round to proclaim the celebration of festivals not their institution only.<sup>2</sup>

The sacrifice which the overseers of the mysteries for Polyeuktos' year made in behalf of King Antigonos shows that the common danger arising from the Gauls had temporarily brought the Athenians and Macedonians together.<sup>3</sup> Pyrrhos had not yet seized Macedon.

§ 15. Eubulos.<sup>4</sup> 273/2 B.C. ?

C.I.A. II, 331, l. 54 ff. runs as follows: *καὶ ἀγωνοθ(έ)της χειροτονηθεῖς (Φαίδρος) ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐπὶ Νικίου ἀρχοντος ἐπεμελήθη τῶν θεοσιῶν κτλ. — καὶ ὕστ[ερον] τοῦ ἑοῦ Θυμοχάρου ἀγωνοθέτου χειροτονηθέντος [ἐς τὸ]ν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν ἐπ' Εὐβούλου ἀρχοντος συνεπεμελήθη κτλ.* It is evident that some years intervened between Nikias (282/1 B.C.) and Eubulos. The inscription from which I have just quoted, which was passed in Eubulos' archonship or in the year immediately following, certainly belongs to a time in which the

<sup>1</sup> In the year in question there was a great concourse of theoroi to Alexandria (Merriam, p. 32). The names of both the Egyptian and Macedonian months were used in dating a document—a custom which is more in accord with the fashion of the third than of the second Ptolemy (Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 206). The great fête of 239/8 B.C., the 9th year of Euergetes' reign would well explain the presence of so many theoroi (Strack, *Die Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, p. 227 ff.; Néroutsos-Bey, *Rev. Arch.* l. c.). In the *Class. Rev.* XIII (1899), p. 78, n. 2, Dr. A. Wilhelm says: "I have to thank Mr. H. Pomtow for kindly informing me that he considers Ζωτίων (*sic*) Κλέωνος as a brother of Πασίων Κλέωνος, named as manumissor (*sic*) in an inscription from Delphi (Wescher-Foucart, *Inscriptions de Delphes* 159) and as living therefore in the first half of the second century B.C."

<sup>2</sup> Haussoullier *B.C.H.* V (1881), p. 313.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 323 b; cf. II, 307, l. 10 ff., 374, l. 6 ff., *Add. Nov.* 373 b, l. 14 ff.; IV 2, 374 d.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II, 329, 331, l. 58, 1141.

Athenians were on particularly good terms with Antigonos Gonatas. The number of excisions proves that much. It probably, therefore, preceded the year of Pyrrhos' death (272/1 B.C.), inasmuch as the power falling to Antigonos in consequence of that event speedily dissatisfied the Greek states. Within the interval the most likely vacant year is 273/2 B.C. That the most friendly relations existed between Athens and Antigonos in 275/4 and 274/3 B.C. we know from C.I.A. IV 2, 323b.<sup>1</sup> 271/0 B.C. is already occupied and the formidable league formed in 267/6 B.C.<sup>2</sup> against Antigonos, of which the Athenians were the head, makes it unlikely that in 269 or 268 B.C. Antigonos was their good and honored friend. Of the two years 273/2 and 272/1 B.C. the earlier is perhaps preferable. In harmony with this date are the following name identifications: One of the senators for Eubulos' year<sup>3</sup> was Καλλικράτης [Π]υθοδήλου Κολλυτεύς. His father is the Πυθόδηλος Κολλυτεύς of C.I.A. II, 1020 (c. 330 B.C.).<sup>4</sup> So also the father of the man who made the motion in C.I.A. II, 329 [Σί]μος Ἐπικράτου Αἰθαλίδης is probably the Ἐπικράτης Αἰθαλίδης of C.I.A. II, 1020. Among the *δαιτηγαί* for 325/4 B.C.<sup>5</sup> was Ἐπιγένης Ἐρχιεύς, the grandfather perhaps of the senator Ἐπιγένης — Ἐρχιεύς of Eubulos' year. Among the Halaieis in c. 350 B.C.<sup>6</sup> was [Ἀθήν]ιππος Ἀ[θ]η[νί]ππου, the father or grandfather of the senator Ἀθήνιππος Ἀθηνίππου Ἀλαιεύς of Eubulos' year. The secretary for 302/1 B.C.<sup>7</sup> Νίκων Θεοδώρου Πλωτεύς was a senator in Eubulos' year. For Διότιμος Μελανθίου Φιλαΐδης see below, p. 32, and for the two sons of Polyeuktos of Phegaia see below, p. 27. The Μένων Ἀχαρνεύς of C.I.A. II, 331, l. 100 occurs again in the decree of Arrhenides' archonship (263/2 B.C.) preserved by Diogenes Laertius.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> See below p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 329.

<sup>4</sup> *Mith.* V (1880), p. 346.

<sup>5</sup> C.I.A. II, 943.

<sup>6</sup> C.I.A. II, 1208, l. 20.

<sup>7</sup> C.I.A. II, 269, 270; IV 2, 269 b, c.

<sup>8</sup> VII, 12; cf. *Ditt. Syll.* p. 251, note 26.

§ 16. Philoneos.<sup>1</sup> 272/1 B.C.?

The paidotribes for the ephebes in Philoneos' archonship was Ἐρμόδωρος Ἐορτίου Ἀχαρνεύς. In Menekles' year<sup>2</sup> (283/2 B.C.), and in Polyeuktos' year<sup>3</sup> (275/4 B.C.) he filled the same office. His son was an ephebe in Philoneos' year. Among the senators for Eubulos' archonship<sup>4</sup> (273/2 B.C.?) were Χαί[ρ]έστρατος Πολυε[ύ]κτου and Ἀντιφῶν Πολυε[ύ]κτου both Φηγαίεις. One of the ephebes for Philoneos' year was Πολύενκτος Ἀ -- τος Φηγαίου(ς). The number of letters in his father's name is uncertain, but judging from the certain completion of the tribe-name Παν[διονίδ]ος which must be made in the line immediately following, Ἀ[ντιφῶν]τος would suit the lacuna admirably. Among the thesmothetai<sup>5</sup> for 221/0 B.C. was Εὐνίκος Σ[φήτ(τιος)] who, no doubt, is the ephebe Εὐνίκος Ἀ[ -- Σ]φήττιος of C.I.A. II, 338, just as the king-archon<sup>6</sup> for 229/8 B.C. Αἰησιδῆμος Συπ(αλήττιος) is the ephebe Αἰ[ν]ησιδῆμος Ἀγαθοκλέους Συπαλήτ(τιος) of Philoneos' year. A grandson of Τει[σ]ίας Φωκιάδου Ἐλευσίνιο[ς] of C.I.A. II, 338 is to be recognized perhaps in the Τεισίας Ἐλευσίνιος of 183/2 B.C.<sup>7</sup> All these data point to the neighborhood of 275 B.C. for Philoneos, and he may be provisionally assigned to 272/1 B.C.

§ 17. Pytharatos.<sup>8</sup> 271/0 B.C.

Diogenes Laertius says that Epicurus died in this archonship, in the second year of the one hundred and twenty-seventh olympiad, *i. e.*, in 271/0 B.C.

§ 18. Philokrates.<sup>9</sup> 268/7 B.C.

In one of the Herculanean fragments we read:<sup>10</sup> Τὸ[ν Π]ο[λέμωνα] κατὰ Φιλοκράτην ἐγλίπε[ἰν] τὸν βίον. Ἀντίγονος δ[ὲ] γ[ρ]άφει, δ[ιό]τι

<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. II, 337, 338.<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 316.<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 324; cf. also II, 339, 340, 341?<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II, 329.<sup>5</sup> C.I.A. II, 859, l. 40.<sup>6</sup> C.I.A. II, 859, frg. d, l. 6.<sup>7</sup> C.I.A. II, 983, col. I, l. 58.<sup>8</sup> C.I.A. II, 1292, 1293; Diog. Laert. X, 15; [Plut.] X Orat. Vitae, pp. 847 D, 851 D; Cic. De Fato, 9.<sup>9</sup> C.I.A. II, 278, 1332; IV 2, 331 c; Gomperz, Jenaer Literatur. 1875, p. 603, note; Suidas s.v. Πολέμων Φιλοστράτου ἢ Φιλοκράτους.<sup>10</sup> Gomperz, l. c.; cf. Schtschoukareff, Ath. Archons, p. 182; Cornell Studies, VII (1898), p. 60.

Π[ο]λέμωνος τε[λ]ευ[τ]ήσαντος ὁ [Κράτ]ης δια[δ]εξάμενος [τὴν δι]ατ-  
ριβ[ῆ]ν καὶ κριθε[ῖς ἄξιος εἶ]ναι τ[ῆ]ς ἡγεμονία[ς, τῶν ἐταί]ρων [μέ]ν  
αὐτόν - . Under the year 268/7 B.C. in the Latin version of  
Eusebius<sup>1</sup> is found : Polemo filosofus moritur post quem Arche-  
silas et Crates clari habentur. Under the same year the Greek  
version<sup>2</sup> has : Πολέμων θνήσκει ὁ φιλόσοφος μεθ' ὃν Ἀλκείτας καὶ  
Κράτης γνωρίζονται. Under the year 273/2 B.C. the Armenian ver-  
sion<sup>3</sup> has a similar notice. The secretary for Philokrates' year  
being from the tribe Demetrias the best attested location of  
Polemon's death is undoubtedly correct.

§ 19. Peithidemos.<sup>4</sup> 267/6 B.C.

In this archonship the alliance formed by the Athenians with  
Arens I of Sparta and his allies, to coöperate with Ptolemy  
Philadelphus in resisting the aggressions of Antigonos Gonatas,  
was ratified at Athens. Χρημωνίδης Ἐτεοκλέους Αἰθαλίδης, the lead-  
ing spirit in the war,<sup>5</sup> made the motion to that effect in the  
assembly there. The time of the war is defined by the fact that  
the death of Arens took place while it was still in progress.<sup>6</sup>  
Arens succeeded to the throne of Sparta in 309/8 B.C. and reigned  
44 years.<sup>7</sup> His death therefore occurred in 265/4 B.C. It was  
not till after the death of Pyrrhos in the late fall of 272/1 B.C.<sup>8</sup> that  
it was possible for this war to get under way. Hence the limits  
within which Peithidemos was archon are 270/69 and 265/4 B.C.<sup>9</sup>  
Of the years in this interval 270/69 and 269/8 are decidedly too  
early ; for in 263 B.C. Athens was still being besieged<sup>10</sup> : 268/7  
B.C. is already occupied : 266/5 B.C., though preferred by

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. ; cf. below p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II, 332, 333 ; cf. IV 2, 333.

<sup>5</sup> Hegesandros, in Athen. VI, 250 f.

<sup>6</sup> Plut. Agis, III ; Just. XXVI, 2 and Procl. XXVI ; cf. Paus. III, 6.

<sup>7</sup> Diod. XX, 29.

<sup>8</sup> Clinton, F.H. II, p. 238 = 290, n. z.

<sup>9</sup> Rangabé, Ant. hell. 453.

<sup>10</sup> Aelianos, frg. 11 ; cf. Diod. XXIII, 7 ; Wachsmuth, Die Stadt Athen, I,  
p. 628, n. 2.

Dittenberger,<sup>1</sup> is rightly rejected by Koehler<sup>2</sup> as too near the death of Areus to be the year in which the Greek states united to ward off the expected attack of Antigonos. The war had been in progress for a considerable time before Areus was killed. 267/6 B.C. is therefore much the more probable date for Peithidemos.<sup>3</sup>

§ 20. **Diognetos.**<sup>4</sup> 264/3 B.C.

The calculations of Boeckh,<sup>5</sup> by which Diognetos was assigned to 264/3 B.C., are amply confirmed by the new fragment of the Parian Chronicle.<sup>6</sup> The arguments of those who would assign Arrhenides to 264/3 B.C. are considered under the head of the archon following.

§ 21. **Arrhenides.**<sup>7</sup> 263/2 B.C.

In this archonship Zeno the founder of the Stoic school died. Hieronymos ascribes that event to the year of Abraham 1753,<sup>8</sup> which, as Johannes Toepffer<sup>9</sup> pointed out, coincides with the Attic year 263/2 B.C. The Armenian version of Eusebius<sup>10</sup> assigns it to 268/7 B.C., but the same authority assigns the death of Polemon to 273/2 B.C. which certainly happened in 268/7 B.C.; so, however it may have come about, the death of Zeno<sup>11</sup> is, like the death of Polemon, placed exactly five years too early. The testimony of the Armenian version is therefore indirectly in favor of 263/2 B.C. for Arrhenides. Nevertheless several scholars<sup>12</sup> have preferred the year 264/3 B.C. for the reason that Hieronymos ascribes the death of Zeno to ol. 129, 1. This he undoubtedly

<sup>1</sup> *Hermes*, II (1867), p. 306; cf. however p. 301.

<sup>2</sup> Note to C.I.A. II, 332.

<sup>3</sup> For the literature on the Chremonidean war see Holm, *ET*. IV, p. 207 f.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.G. 2374, l. 3; C.I.A. IV 2, 333 b.

<sup>5</sup> C.I.G. II, p. 305 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Mitth.* XXII (1897), p. 183 ff; cf. p. 184, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Diog. Laert.* VII, 10; C.I.A. II, 325; cf. IV 2, 325.

<sup>8</sup> *Euseb.* II, p. 121.

<sup>9</sup> *Griech. Alter.* p. 106 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Euseb.* II, p. 120.

<sup>11</sup> See above p. 28.

<sup>12</sup> Wilamowitz, *Phil. Unter.* IV, p. 252; Rohde, *Rhein. Mus.* XXXIII (1878), p. 622 ff.; Susemihl, *N. Jahrb. f. cl. Phil.* (1882), p. 744, n. 39.

does, but, apart from the fact that Diognetos certainly occupied that year, the year of Abraham and the year of the olympiad given by Hieronymos do not coincide: one must be wrong. Then there comes in the further consideration that the successor of Zeno, Kleantes, was head of the school for thirty-two years<sup>1</sup> and died in Jason's archonship.<sup>2</sup> Thirty-two years from 264/3 B.C. take us to 232/1 B.C. in which year Antiphilos was archon; thirty-two years from 263/2 B.C. take us to 231/0 B.C. and that year alone of those between 237/6 and 227/6 B.C. lacks an archon.<sup>3</sup> It is true that the birth of Kleantes is assigned on good authority to Aristophanes' archonship (331/0 B.C.)<sup>4</sup> and that he is said to have lived ninety-nine years; but the ninety-nine comes from less trustworthy sources<sup>5</sup> than the other data. He may have been born in the latter part of 331/0 B.C. and have lived slightly over ninety-nine years, or the year of his birth may have been assigned by some one who carelessly calculated ninety-nine years back from Jason.<sup>6</sup>

§ 22. *Olbios.*<sup>7</sup> 259/8 B.C.

The secretary belongs to the tribe Aiantis. In C.I.A. II, 602—a decree of the Mesogeoi passed in the year of Olbios or in that of his successor—the motion was made by Amynomachos, son of Philokrates, of Bate, whom we know as one of the heirs and executors of Epicurus.<sup>8</sup> Amynomachos was accordingly in his

<sup>1</sup> Gomperz, Rhein. Mus. XXXIV (1879), p. 154 ff. Gomperz and Meier (Commen. Epig. p. 81 ff.) resort to the desperate expedient of supposing a public funeral decreed and a tomb built for Zeno before his death (Diog. Laert. VII, 11; cf. Toepffer, Griech. Alter. p. 106 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Comparetti, Papiro Ercolanese inedito. Riv. di Filo. cl. III (1875), col. XXVIII f. p. 502 f.; cf. Gomperz, Jenaer Literatur. (1875), p. 605.

<sup>3</sup> See below § 29 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Rohde, l. c.

<sup>5</sup> Lucian, Macrob. 19; Val. Max. VIII, 7, extr. 11.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Gomperz, J. L. p. 605: Tritt die letztere, vorläufig minder werthvolle Nachricht mit positiver Bestimmtheit auf, so ist die erstere vielleicht das Ergebniss einer Rechnung,—ist doch das Geburtsjahr bedeutender Menschen aus naheliegenden Gründen oft um so vieles unsicherer als die Zeit ihres Todes.

<sup>7</sup> C.I.A. II, 602; IV 2, 345 b.

<sup>8</sup> Diog. Laert. X, 16.

prime in 271/0 B.C. The tribe of the secretary allows us the choice of two years, 259/8 and 247/6 B.C. Of these the earlier is preferable.

§ 23. *Kallimedes*<sup>1</sup> and *Thersilochos*.<sup>2</sup> 254/3 and 252/1 B.C. ?

The secretaries show that one year came between these two and give us as possibilities 254/3, 252/1 and 242/1, 240/39 B.C. ; for C.I.A. II, 308 and 307 (IV 2, 307 b) show that we have to do with an ordinary year of twelve prytanies only. To decide between these two pairs of years is difficult. Two facts bearing upon a decision may be noticed : (1) Lines 8 and 9 of C.I.A. II, 306 read as follows : [- - στ]ρατος ὁ πατή[ρ - - - -] βασιλέως Δημ[ητρίου - - -]. As far as one may judge, it is here said that the father of the person eulogized in the decree did some services to Athens during the reign of Demetrios Poliorketes. If the decree was passed in 254/3 B.C., thirty-four, if in 242/1 B.C., forty-six years had already elapsed since Demetrios was driven from the throne. The shorter interval is preferable. Two years after the withdrawal of the Macedonian garrison from the Museion is a likely time at which to find the father of Antigonos mentioned in an honorary decree. (2) In Thersilochos' archonship a disagreement between Athens and the Confederation of Boeotia was referred for arbitration to the city of Lamia.<sup>3</sup> Of this I can make no use.

§ 24. *Diogeiton*.<sup>4</sup> 248/7 B.C.

In C.I.A. II Add. Nov. 352 b, in which this archon is found, the motion was made by 'Ακρότιμος Αἰσχίου Ἰκαριεύς. This individual<sup>5</sup> appears among the dedicators to Asklepios mentioned in an inscription drafted in 228/7 B.C. In it the donations are grouped according to the years of the priests in which they were given.<sup>6</sup> There are extant the lists for fifteen years out of what

<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. II, 306, 307.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 307, 308 ; IV 2, 307 b, c.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 308 ; IV 2, 308 b ; cf. 373 h.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II Add. Nov. 352 b.

<sup>5</sup> C.I.A. II, 836, lines 80 and 87 ; cf. IV 2, 1190 b and Merriam, 7th Annual Rep. of the Am. Sch. at Athens, p. 85 t.

<sup>6</sup> See Girard and Martha, B.C.H. II (1878), p. 441 ff.



seems to me to be a possible of about twenty.<sup>1</sup> In the decree which authorized the making of the catalogue the object set forth was, ὅπως οὖν καὶ ἡ βουλ[ῆ καὶ ὁ δῆμος — — τ]ῷ θεῷ καθάπερ καὶ πρότ[ερον — —]. This I take to mean that a custom suspended during the Macedonian occupation of the city was to be revived. The list perhaps began after the Chremonidean war ended. The third priest remaining in the catalogue was Δυσικ[λ]ῆς Συπαλήττ(ιος) who is certainly to be identified with the ἀκοντιστής of Philoneos' year (272/1 B.C. ?). So one of the dedicators during the priestship of Lysikles' predecessor was Διότιμος Φιλαΐδης, one of the senators in Eubulos' year<sup>2</sup> (273/2 B.C. ?). One of the ex-priests mentioned in the list was Ἀρχικλῆς Λακιάδ(ης).<sup>3</sup> The hieropoios for Lysiades' archonship (166/5 B.C. ?), Ἀρχικλῆς Λακιάδης,<sup>4</sup> was perhaps his grandson. One of the dedicators during the fifth extant priestship was Σωγένης Ὀτρυ(νεύς),<sup>5</sup> the father perhaps of Ἀπολλόδωρος Σωγένου Ὀτρυνεύς who was among the contributors in 228/7 B.C.<sup>6</sup> The thirteenth extant office-holding priest Πραξιτέλης (Τιμάρχου) Εἰρεσ(ίδης),<sup>7</sup> in whose year Ἀκρότιμος was ταμίας, has been identified by Kirchner<sup>8</sup> with the Πραξιτέλης who in 228/7 B.C. made a contribution. The Θεογένης Ἀμφιτροπ(ῆθεν) who in the fifteenth and last extant priestship<sup>9</sup> made a dedication is probably the grandson of the ἐπιμελητῆς πομπῆς for 282/1 B.C.<sup>10</sup>, Θεογένης Ποσειδωνίου Ἀμφιτροπῆθεν. The dedication of Akrotimos would seem to have been made after 235 B.C. Koehler<sup>11</sup> thought that Akrotimos, inasmuch as he was treasurer when the demos made a dedication, had held the office of ταμίας τοῦ δήμου. Girard and

<sup>1</sup> The other nine priests mentioned in the list were presumably in office earlier than the date of the earliest extant annual catalogue.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 329.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 836, l. 36.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II, 953.

<sup>5</sup> C.I.A. II, 836, l. 39.

<sup>6</sup> C.I.A. II, 334, frg. d, l. 25.

<sup>7</sup> C.I.A. II, 836, l. 82; cf. II, 1489.

<sup>8</sup> Indices to C.I.A. II, p. 44.

<sup>9</sup> C.I.A. II, 836, l. 102.

<sup>10</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 318 b; for Εὐαγίων who made a dedication (l. 45 and l. 56), see under Metrophanes.

<sup>11</sup> C.I.A. II, 836, note on p. 318.

Martha<sup>1</sup> with equal right thought of  $\delta \epsilon\pi\iota \tau\eta \delta\iota\omicron\kappa\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota$ . There existed in the third century B.C. the  $\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma \tau\omega\upsilon\upsilon \sigma\tau\alpha\tau\iota\omega\tau\iota\kappa\omega\upsilon\upsilon$  who seems to me quite as likely to be meant as either of the other two.<sup>2</sup> The secretary gives us as possibilities for Diogeiton 272/1, 260/59, and 248/7 B.C. Because of the tangencies of Akrotimos the latest year is to be selected.

§ 25. C.I.A. IV 2, 371 c.<sup>3</sup> 246/5 or 245/4 B.C.

This is an inscription passed while Aristomachos was tyrant of Argos and therefore earlier than 240 B.C.<sup>4</sup>: it however was later than the revolt of Alexandros, son of Krateros, from Antigonos Gonatas, and consequently subsequent to 250 B.C.<sup>5</sup> The archon is lost, but the deme of the secretary is extant as follows: EII ---. There are only two demes which begin thus, *Eireaios* (Antiochis and Antigonis) and *Eipeisidhs* (Akamantis). The remainder of the third letter, as reproduced in the Corpus, is too far distant from the Iota to be the hasta of a Rho: it is best taken as the upstroke of a Tau. Further, between 250 and 240 B.C. Akamantis did not have the secretaryship, while Antiochis and Antigonis follow one another in 246/5 and 245/4 B.C. In either one of these two years C.I.A. IV 2, 371 c was passed. Hence the war between Antigonos assisted by Athens and Argos, and Alexandros, his nephew, occurred between 250 and 245/4 B.C.<sup>6</sup> In it Alexandros was apparently successful.

§ 26. - mon and .....<sup>7</sup> 245/4-244/3 B.C.

The only places possible for - mon and his successor are 257/6, 256/5 and 245/4, 244/3 B.C.; for C.I.A. II, 330 was passed in an

<sup>1</sup> B.C.H. 1. c.

<sup>2</sup> Gilbert, Grk. Const. Ant. ET. p. 248, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Wilhelm has made some further, as yet unpublished, additions to this inscription; see also 'Εφ.'Αρχ. 1892, p. 127 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Holm, ET. IV, p. 222 f.; Wilcken, Pauly-Wissowa, II, p. 945, s.v. Aristomachos (16).

<sup>5</sup> Plut. Arat. XV; cf. Koehler, C.I.A. IV 2, p. 95.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. C.I.A. IV 2, 591 b.

<sup>7</sup> C.I.A. II, 330; the restoration of the name [ΚΙ]μωνος in frgs. b-e, 1. 7 has no warrant.

intercalary year at the time of the twelve tribes. The names of the ephebes for the earlier of the two archonships are given. Among them are found : (1) A son of Dromeas of Erchia. The same name appears along with his father's among the contributors for state defenses in the year 228/7 B.C.<sup>1</sup> His father was likewise a member of the sacred board in Glaukippos' year.<sup>2</sup> (2) Two sons of Heliodoros of Paiania. A Heliodoros was archon in 237/6 B.C.<sup>3</sup> (3) A son of Kichesias of Aixone. In C.I.A. II, 1047 (c. 125 B.C.) there is found along with Mikion and Eurykleides, sons of Eurykleides of Kephisia, Leon, the son of Kichesias, of Aixone.<sup>4</sup> This would make our son of Kichesias contemporary with Mikion, the son of Eurykleides, of C.I.A. II, 379, l. 3 (c. 228 B.C.). Also in C.I.A. II, 859, l. 30 (222/1 B.C.) Kichesias of Aixone himself was one of the thesmothetai. Manifestly 245/4 B.C. is preferable for — *mon*.

§ 27. Glaukippos<sup>5</sup> and . . . . . (.?).<sup>6</sup> 241/0 and 238/7 B.C.

Glaukippos was archon in an intercalary year at the time of the twelve tribes.<sup>7</sup> The secretary was from the tribe Pandionis. Conceivable are the following years : 277/6 ?, 265/4, 253/2, and 241/0 B.C. Dromeas, son of Diokles, of Erchia, one of a board of religious functionaries commended in this archonship, was very prominent among the contributors for state defenses in 228/7 B.C. This fact excludes 277/6 and 265/4 B.C. Diokles, the son of Dromeas, was an ephebe in what we have determined to be 245/4 B.C. This favors 241/0 B.C. Had the decree been passed in 253/2 B.C. it is not unlikely that in it mention would have been made of a sacrifice offered on behalf of Antigonos

<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. II, 334, l. 37 f.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 305.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 385 b, c; see below p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. C.I.A. II, 448.

<sup>5</sup> C.I.A. II, 305, 344?; IV 2, 305 b.

<sup>6</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 373 c.

<sup>7</sup> See Wilhelm, *Hermes*, XXIV (1889), p. 327 f. The fact that the board commended in C.I.A. II, 305 consisted of thirteen members signifies nothing, inasmuch as the tribes were totally disregarded in their selection.

Gonatas.<sup>1</sup> A similar omission is to be noted<sup>2</sup> in C.I.A. IV 2, 373 c which probably belongs to 238/7 B.C. Here the secretary is from the tribe Oineis. The thirteenth tribe had not yet come in. The possibilities are: 262/1, 250/49, and 238/7 B.C. Of these 238/7 is to be preferred for epigraphical reasons.<sup>3</sup> The epistates of the proedroi was Ζωίλος Ζωίλου Φλευός. Among the epebes for Tychandros' archonship (172/1 B.C.) was Νικοκράτης Ζωίλου Φλευός.<sup>4</sup> A comparison of the stemmata given below under Diomedon shows that the grandfather of a man who was an epebe in 172/1 B.C. could not very well have been matured earlier than 239/8 B.C.

#### § 28. Unlocated archons.

At this point an alphabetically arranged list of the archons of the third century B.C. as yet unlocated may be inserted. The probability is that most of them belong to the period of the Macedonian domination.

A -- .

C.I.A. IV 2, 373 g, l. 10. Because of an erasure in the inscription Koehler judges that it precedes 229/8 B.C.

Agasias.

C.I.G. 2035; Dumont, *Essai*, p. 111; Schoeffer, *Pauly-Wissowa*, II, p. 589. Early part of the century.

Alexandros.<sup>5</sup>

Eubulos, the son of Antenor, who upon the death of Moschion in 185/4 B.C.<sup>6</sup> came to the front for a short time in the Academic school, was born in the archonship of Alexandros. One may therefore with considerable certainty ascribe Alexandros to the last half of the third century B.C. Bücheler assigns him to the neighborhood of 230 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C.I.A. IV 2, 323 b; II Add. Nov. 373 b; II, 307, 374; IV 2, 374 d.

<sup>2</sup> In C.I.A. II, 325 (263-2 B.C.) it is also wanting.

<sup>3</sup> Koehler, note on C.I.A. IV 2, 373 c.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II, 1224; cf. *Αθήν.* IV, p. 461; *Cornell Studies*, VII, p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> Bücheler, *Index Herculaneis Academicorum Philosophorum, Gryphiswaldiae*, 1869, p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> See below p. 57, n. 2.

## Alkibiades.

C.I.A. II, 374; Pollux, X, 126; cf. Wilhelm, Pauly-Wissowa, I, p. 1533. Wilhelm assigns him to the second half of the third century B.C. Schoeffer, Pauly-Wissowa, II, p. 589, places him between 260/59 and 241/0 B.C. C.I.A. IV 2, 323 b does not allow the earlier limit to be imperative.

## Antipatros.

'Αθην. VIII (1879), p. 231 = C.I.A. IV 2, 616 b. Koumanoudes assigns him to the third century B.C. on the basis of the lettering; cf. Pauly-Wissowa, I, p. 2501.

(.?) . . . bios.

C.I.A. II, 335, l. 5. Among the *σιτῶνα* in office in this archonship was [Ἐρί]ωτος Δημοφίλου [Μελιτε]ύς who in 228/7 B.C. contributed 200 drachmae for the safety of the city and the defense of the country.<sup>1</sup> It therefore belonged to the latter half of the third century. Possibly the name should be restored Olbios (see above p. 30) though the stone shows a greater lacuna.

## Hagnias.

C.I.A. II, 372, 617. The secretary's name is Ποτάμων Δο-  
ν[ακος - - -?]. Koehler places this archon near the middle of the third cent. B.C.

## Lysiades.

C.I.A. II, 345, Add. Nov. 373 b. This archon probably belongs to the time of the twelve tribes and to the reign of Antigonos Gonatas. The erasure in C.I.A. II Add. Nov. 373 b of itself indicates that it is earlier than 229/8 B.C. Koehler assigns him to the middle of the third cent. B.C. or a little later. The secretary was Ἀριστόμαχος Ἀριστο[δ]ή[μου - ]. The chairman of the proedroi was [Ἐ]ὐχάριστος Χάρητος Ἀφιδναῖος. In C.I.A. II, 403 (207/6 B.C.) one of the members of the Areopagus was Χάρης Ἀφιδναῖος. Are they father and son? In C.I.A. II, 835 A, l. 28 (320-317 B.C.) one of the persons to dedicate things to Asklepios was [Κρ]α[ν]αός - . The Κραναός Κτησιφ[ώντος] of C.I.A. II Add. Nov. 273 b, lines 4 and 32 was evidently a votary of Asklepios. Are they grandfather and grandson?

<sup>1</sup>C.I.A. II, 334, frg. d, l. 20.

Lysitheides.

C.I.A. II, 620 ; IV 2, 620 b ; cf. Foucart, B.C.H. VII (1883), p. 68 ff. Both Koehler and Foucart think that the lettering belongs to the third cent. B.C. Foucart suggests that the Sokles of C.I.A. IV 2, 620 b is the same as the Sokles of C.I.A. IV 2, 611 b, l. 45 (300/299 B.C.), in which case Lysitheides would belong to the early part of the century. Among the contributors in 228/7 B.C. (C.I.A. II, 334, frg. d, l. 32) there was a *Λυσιθείδης Ἐρχι(εύς)*.

Pheidostratos.

C.I.A. II, 1199. Kirchner, Rhein. Mus. LIII (1898), p. 388, suggests that the *Δεινίας Κηφ[ισο]δότης Βουτάδης* of C.I.A. II, 1199 is the grandson of the *Κηφισόδο[τος - - -] Βου[τάδης]* of C.I.A. IV 2, 868 b. Since the latter lived in about 350 B.C. Pheidostratos, he states, would be archon in about 250 B.C.

Philinos.

C.I.A. IV 2 Add. 619 c. In a decree of the Athenian citizens stationed at Eleusis it is mentioned that their general Sosikrates of Sphettos had been *[τ]αμ[ίας τῶν στ]ρα[τι]ω[τικῶν]* for the year of Philinos' archonship. On the basis of the lettering Philinos (Mitth. XIX (1894), p. 176 f.) assigns the decree to the neighborhood of the end of the third cent. B.C.

Philippides.

C.I.A. II, 1333. This archon is ascribed on the basis of the lettering to the third cent. B.C.

Proxenides.

C.I.A. II, 391. Proxenides is ascribed by Koehler to the third cent. B.C. The secretary was *Ἐύβουλος Εὐβουλίδ[ου - ]*.

Pythokritos.

C.I.A. II, 862 ; cf. Koehler's note. Rangabé assigns him to the time of the Macedonian domination.

Sosistratos.

C.I.A. II, 1295. In Sosistratos' archonship *Θεοφάνης Διοσκουρίδου Εὐωνυμέ[ς]* was agonothetes, and Sokrates, a Rhodian, played the flute for the victorious men's chorus. This same

Rhodian is mentioned in Wescher-Foucart, 4, l. 14 (c. 270 B.C.).<sup>1</sup> In C.I.A. IV 2 Add. 1402 b, p. 308, and in 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1892, p. 45 (300-250 B.C.) a Διοσκούριδης is named who was probably a son of Θεοφάνης. In C.I.A. IV 2, 251 b (305/4 B.C.) among the epebes from Euonymon, a brother in all probability is found. Because of these identifications made by Kirchner and Reisch,<sup>2</sup> Sosikrates has been assigned by the former to the neighborhood of 290 B.C. Inasmuch as there is no place for an archon before 278/7 B.C. (assuming Telokles as certain for 284/3 B.C.), a more likely location would be at about 275 B.C.

Theophemos.

C.I.A. II, 373. The secretary was Προκ[λ]ῆς 'Απ -- . Theophemos is assigned by Kirchner (Indices to C.I.A. II) to the middle of the third century B.C. A Theophemos was *orator* in C.I.A. II, 334 (228/7 B.C.).

Thymochares.

C.I.A. II, 371. We are still at the time of the twelve tribes. In C.I.A. II, 371 the tribe in the prytany must have been Demetriai, and the συμπρόεδρος, -- Λαμπτρεύς, must have belonged to Erechtheis. The secretary was Σώστρατο[ς] 'Α[ρι]στ[.....]. Koehler places the inscription at about the middle of the third century B.C. In Eubulos' archonship (273/2 B.C.?) a man of this name, son of the general Phaidros, was agonothetes. In 229/8 B.C. a Thymochares occurs among the contributors. All three belong to the same family. It is possible that they are the same person.

C.I.A. II, 390.

The secretary was [-- ἐκ Κ]ηδῶν of the tribe Erechtheis. On the basis of the lettering Koehler (Hermes, V (1871), p. 335) thinks this inscription hardly later than the second half of the third century B.C. The archon being gone, the possibilities would seem to be 255/4, 243/2, 231/0, and 218/7 B.C.

C.I.A. IV 2, 407 b.

<sup>1</sup> Pomtow, N. Jahrb. f. cl. Phil. CXLIX (1894), p. 506; Reisch, De musicis Graecorum certaminibus, 1885, p. 88 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Kirchner, Rhein. Mus. LIII (1898), p. 387 f.; Reisch, op. cit. p. 85, n. 1.

The genitive of the archon's name ended in sigma. The inscription is ascribed by Koehler to the latter half of the third century B.C.

§ 29. Heliodoros<sup>1</sup> and Archelaos.<sup>2</sup> 237/6 and 220/19 B.C.

In Archelaos' archonship the 3d day of the fourth prytany fell in the third month, Boedromion.<sup>3</sup> Only when the prytany had less days than the month, *i.e.*, when there were thirteen tribes and twelve months could this happen. The fact that in this year a *μην ἐμβόλιμος* was added<sup>4</sup> points to an intercalary year, and therefore to thirteen months also: but on the other hand the insertion of this month after Anthesterion, and not after Posideon as was usual, is a mark of some irregularity or unknown regularity. The year began as though it were going to be an ordinary year of 354 days. After Gamelion had begun, for some cause or other it was decided to add an intercalary month. A precedent for inserting another month than Posideon was found in the year 307/6 B.C.<sup>5</sup> That it marks the introduction, in 307/6 B.C. of the tribes Antigonis and Demetrias, or in 220/19 B.C. of the tribe Ptolemais, does not follow.<sup>6</sup>

Part of C.I.A. IV 2, 385 c was passed in Heliodoros' archonship, and part in Archelaos', but since Heliodoros belongs to the time of the twelve tribes, and Archelaos to that of the thirteen, there is found at once a reason for believing that some years intervened between them.<sup>7</sup> Further, that in Archelaos' year certain honors decreed in Heliodoros' year<sup>8</sup> to a distinguished Cretan were ratified a second time, suggests that in the meanwhile a new party had come into power. We see from the decree that this new

<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. II, 384; IV 2, 385 b, c.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 431; IV 2, 385 c.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bates, Cornell Studies, VIII (1898), p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 385 c, l. 48.

<sup>5</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 733.

<sup>6</sup> See Koehler's note to C.I.A. IV 2, 240 b.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Homolle, B.C.H. XV (1891), p. 362: "on imagine volontiers que le rappel des décisions inexécutées a dû se faire dans l'année même qui en suivit le vote; mais le vague du mot *πρότερον* appliqué à ce vote, l'intervention d'un orateur nouveau, les changements apportés au premier décret semblent impliquer un plus long délai."

<sup>8</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 385 c; the Bukris of this decree has been identified with a Naupaktian who figures in a Delian decree which Philios, the son of Charilas, moved. I see no reason why this Philios is not the father, rather than the



party was led by Eurykleides and Mikion, who upon the withdrawal of the Macedonian garrison in 229 B.C. became the leading men of the state. Archelaos must have been archon between 225/8 and 213/2 B.C.; for in the latter year Eurykleides and Mikion were poisoned by order of Philip V of Macedon.<sup>1</sup> The secretary is from Antigonis, and in this period in only one year could Antigonis have had the secretaryship, *viz.*, 220/19 B.C. The link between Archelaos and Heliodoros is the recurrence in a decree of each archon<sup>2</sup> of the name *Εὐμαρίδας Πανκλέους* of Kydonia. Since even before Heliodoros' year this individual had been active in Athens' interest, and since he continued rendering services up to Archelaos' year, it seems to me that one of the alternatives presented for Heliodoros by the secretary, *viz.*, 249/8 B.C. is to be rejected as too early. Indeed the reference in C.I.A. II, 384, l. 11 to *βασιλέως Ἀ[ττάλου]* should perhaps have excluded this year from our consideration altogether; for the first Attalos became King only in 241 B.C.<sup>3</sup> The only other year for Heliodoros is 237/6 B.C.; for in 224/3 B.C. there were thirteen tribes, whereas in Heliodoros' year there certainly were only twelve.<sup>4</sup>

§ 30. Leochares,<sup>5</sup> Theophilos,<sup>6</sup> Ergochares,<sup>7</sup> Niketes,<sup>8</sup>

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son, of Charilas II who was archon at Delos in 220 B.C., though for my purpose it is immaterial. See B.C.H. XV (1891), p. 359 f. Bukris is also mentioned as hieromnemon at Delphi in two inscriptions, one of which Pomtow (Rhein. Mus. LI (1896), p. 356; cf. Wilhelm, Gött. gel. Anz. 1898, p. 224) assigns to a time a little later than 230 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> Paus. II, 9, 4.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 385 c. Homolle (B.C.H. XV (1891), p. 362) places Heliodoros in 217-6 B.C. and interprets this decree in the light of the glimpse of Cretan affairs given us by Polybius, IV, 53-55 and VII, 11. It might be so interpreted if it were known that Heliodoros was archon in 217-6 B.C., but the circumstances *necessary* for the understanding of the decree jibe so closely with the normal situation in Crete that I do not see how they can serve to date Heliodoros.

<sup>3</sup> See Wilcken, Pauly-Wissowa, II, p. 2159 ff. The restoration Ἀ[ττάλου] is of course uncertain and disputed; cf. Phil. Unter. IV, p. 253.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 385 b.

<sup>5</sup> C.I.A. II, 1102; for the whole group see C.I.A. II, 859.

<sup>6</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 381 b; the secretary's tribe must have been Aiantis and the deme began with Ἀ. Ἀφιδναῖος is the only one possible.

<sup>7</sup> C.I.A. II, 381.

<sup>8</sup> C.I.A. II, 1216; cf. IV 2, 1216.

**Antiphilos,<sup>1</sup> —, —, Menekrates,<sup>2</sup> (Diomed)on, —, —, —, ....., Diokles,<sup>3</sup> Euphiletos,<sup>4</sup> and Herakleitos.<sup>5</sup> 236/5-221/0 B.C.**

These are the archons given us by C.I.A. II, 859. After Antiphilos there is a break in the stone and another after [.....]on. The number of the archons which intervene in either interval is unknown. It is limited however by the size of the stone. To assume that between Diokles and Antiphilos there intervened twenty-one years would be extremely bold, if not impossible; for to each year there belonged a list containing ten lines.

In Ergochares' archonship the tribe Ptolemais<sup>6</sup> had not yet been created: in Menekrates' archonship it was in existence. For Ergochares' archonship the secretary was from Antiochis, for Diokles' from Hippothontis. The only conceivable possibilities for these two secretaries are 234/3 or 221/0 and 223/2 or 210/09 B.C. Of these the alternatives 221/0, 210/09 are impossible; for otherwise the whole subsequent scheme of the official order would have to be drawn back one year, because Ptolemais could not then have had the secretaryship in 227/6 B.C. But the complete coincidence<sup>7</sup> between the tribes of the secretaries for 168/7, 125/4, 112/1, and 101/0 B.C. and the tribes which should furnish the secretaries in those years if it were not so drawn back, proves conclusively that to draw it back is impossible. Therefore the only years for Ergochares and Diokles are 234/3 and 223/2 B.C. By this means Leochares is fixed to 236/5, Theophilos to 235/4, Niketes to 233/2, Antiphilos to 232/1, [.....]s to 224/3, Euphiletos to 222/1 and Herakleitos to 221/0 B.C.

§ 31. **Chairephon<sup>8</sup> and Aischron.<sup>9</sup> 225/4 and 217/6 B.C.**

<sup>1</sup> 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1897, p. 42 ff.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 618, 1195, 1591; 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1897, p. 42 ff.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 839; IV 2, 385 d, 619 b, l. 18.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II, 619; cf. 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1897, p. 39 f.?

<sup>5</sup> C.I.A. II, 619; IV 2, 385 e.

<sup>6</sup> Bates, Cornell Studies, VIII (1898), p. 28 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cornell Studies, VII (1898), p. 44 ff.; A. J. P. XIX (1898), p. 314 f.

<sup>8</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 619 b; II, 622.

<sup>9</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 619 b.

To such a date for Diokles the following passage from C.I.A. IV 2, 619 b, l. 24 ff. might be thought to be hostile: *γινόμένης δὲ καὶ τῆς πανηγύρεως τῶν Ἐλευσινίων τῶν μεγάλων ἐν τοῖς ἔτεσιν, οἷς ἐστρατήγηκεν (Δημαίνετος), ἔθυσεν ταῖς θεαῖς μετὰ τῶν ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος περὶ τῆς τοῦ δήμου σωτηρίας· ἐπεμελήθη δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν μυστηρίων [τελ]ετῆς καθ' ἑκάστην στρατηγίαν.* The Eleusinia, which are to be distinguished from the Mysteries, were held annually, but in connection with them came a Trieteris and a Penteteris. It is generally thought that these fell on the first and second, or third and fourth years of an olympiad respectively, and that when the Eleusinia are termed τὰ μεγάλα, the Penteteris is meant. Schtschoukareff<sup>1</sup> takes the passage quoted to mean that in each year of Demainetos' generalship the Penteteris was held, and that therefore the three archons in whose years he was general, Chairephon, Diokles, and Aischron came each in the third or fourth year of an olympiad. Diokles however comes in the second year of an olympiad: moreover, what the decree says is that "when the fête of the great Eleusinia fell in the years in which he was general he sacrificed etc.," which only gives us warrant for holding that the great Eleusinia came in more than one of the three years. Indeed the absence of *πᾶσι* when contrasted with its presence in the same phrase a few lines farther on—*καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔτεσιν αὐτοῖς προδιδούς ἀργύριον εἰς ἐσθῆτα κτλ.*—, should in itself have told us that Demainetos on two occasions only had had a chance to take part in the great Eleusinia. Since Diokles' year is excluded, the other two must be those of the great fête and are preferably 225/4 and 217/6 B.C., since A. Mommsen has presented good reasons for placing the Penteteris in the fourth year of an olympiad.<sup>2</sup>

Further, C.I.A. IV 2, 619 b<sup>3</sup> has been assumed to prove that Chairephon, Diokles, and Aischron all came after the accession of Philip V to the throne of Macedon (221/0 B.C.).<sup>4</sup> But this does not at all follow. The decree is passed by the soldiers in the *φρούρια* under the command of the *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν ἐπ'*

<sup>1</sup> B.C.H. XII (1888), p. 74 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum, (1898), p. 179 ff; cf 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. (1896), p. 26, no. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. (1897), p. 41 f. no. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Schtschoukareff, B.C.H. XII (1888), p. 71.

Ἐλευσίνος. In it, before proceeding to recount the services rendered to themselves by Demainetos their general in the three archonships mentioned, they refer to the rewards bestowed upon him by the people of Athens for his public services. These public services were undoubtedly performed by him in and between the years in which he was general. The present tense διατελεῖ used in reference to them, as contrasted with the aorist διετέλεσεν used in reference to his past private services, makes this the only fair interpretation of the passage. His public services are mentioned first in the decree because of the precedent and confirmation found in the state's recognition of them for the recognition his soldiers are about to give of his services to themselves in his capacity of general. They consisted in his numerous embassies to Philip, and to the Aetolian League with the object of securing peace with both, and of preserving Attic territory from injury at the hands of either. They are such, as Schtschoukareff<sup>1</sup> shows, as could have been performed only during the Social War (221/0-216/5 B.C.). The year assigned for the third generalship of Demainetos, 217/6 B.C., accords well with this fact.

§ 32. Jason.<sup>2</sup> 231/0 B.C.

Jason was archon thirty-two years after Arrhenides, therefore in 231/0 B.C.

§ 33. Kalli-<sup>3</sup> 230/29 B.C.

The evidence favors the year immediately preceding Menekrates for *Kalli*-. From C.I.A. II, 1591 it seems that a girl was arrhephoros in these two archonships. Since that was an office open only to maids when between seven and eleven years of age<sup>4</sup>—ἀπὸ ἑπτῶν ἕπτὰ μέχρις ἑνδεκά—it would appear that 230/29 B.C. is the only possible year for *Kalli* -; for Menekrates comes in 229/8 B.C. and the preceding seven years are already occupied.

<sup>1</sup> l. c.

<sup>2</sup> Rohde, Rhein. Mus. XXXIII (1878), p. 622 ff.; see above p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 1591; cf. Schtschoukareff, B.C.H. XII (1888), p. 79.

<sup>4</sup> See Hunzinger, Daremberg et Saglio, s.v. Arrhephoria; cf. Mommsen, Feste der Stadt Athen, p. 108, n. 1; Etym. Mag. s.v. ἀρρηφορεῖν.

§ 34. *Menekrates.*<sup>1</sup> 229/8 B.C.

See under Diomedon.

§ 35. *Diomedon.*<sup>2</sup> 228/7 B.C.

If one tries to complete the dating of C.I.A. II, 334 it is found that only at the time of the thirteen tribes and in an ordinary year is that possible. Before the *εμβόλιμος* day of Elaphebolion there must have passed 266 days. At the time of the thirteen tribes the 267th day corresponded to the fourth of the tenth prytany. The decree should therefore read as follows:

Ταμίης στρατιω[τικῶν]

Εὐρυκλείδης Μικίωνος [Κηφισιεύς]

[Ε]πὶ Διομέδοντος ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς [Δημητριάδος<sup>3</sup> δεκάτης πρ]υτανείας, ἧ Φορυσκίδης Ἀριστομένου Ἄ[λιμούσιος<sup>4</sup> ἐγραμμάτε]νεν· Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ἐνεὶ καὶ νέα ἐμ[βολίμῳ τετάρτῃ τῆς] πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν .....ατος Τελεσίνου Ἐρχιε[ύς κ]αὶ συ[μπρόεδροι]·

ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ

[Θε]όφημος Τιμοκλέους Μαραθώνιος εἶπε[ν] κτλ.

Theophemos' motion was to the effect that voluntary contributions—not under 50 drachmae nor over 200 to be accepted from anyone—be solicited, in order that the treasurer of the military department might have the wherewithal to insure an unmolested harvesting of the crops. Then followed a list of at least one hundred and twenty names of those who had responded to the appeal, and very prominent among them were those of Eurykleides and Mikion of Kephisia. There is now no reason to doubt the identity of these two individuals with the statesmen mentioned by Polybius, Plutarch, and Pausanias<sup>5</sup> as dominating Athens between 229 and 213 B.C. The many correspondences of names found in the list referred to with those found in inscriptions of the last half of the third century B.C. is strong corroborative evidence. One has only to mention Hierokles of Sunion,<sup>6</sup> Niketes

<sup>1</sup> See above p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 334, 836, 859, frg. d, l. 15; IV 2, 618 b.

<sup>3</sup> See Koehler's remark on C.I.A. II, 836.

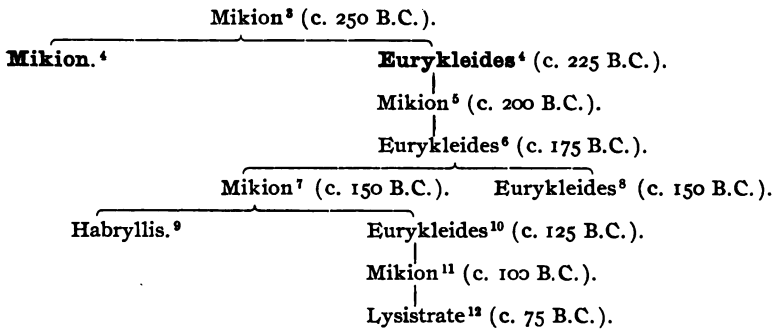
<sup>4</sup> See below p. 47.

<sup>5</sup> See below p. 45, n. 4.

<sup>6</sup> C.I.A. II, 982.

of Pergase,<sup>1</sup> Eriotos of Melite,<sup>2</sup> Aischron of Paiania, Thymocharēs of Sphettos, Lysitheides of Erchia, Chairephon of Eitea, Sosigenes of Paiania, and Theophemos of Marathon—the last six of whom were perhaps archons. More conclusive still is the evidence of names which belong to well known families. Compare the following stemmata :

## I. Deme = Kephisia.



<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. II, 550, Add. 1392 b; IV 2, 385 d, l. 44 (223-2 B.C.); 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1897, p. 40, no. 9.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 335.

<sup>3</sup> Otherwise unknown.

<sup>4</sup> Plut. Arat. XLI; Polyb. V, 106; Paus. II, 9, 4; C.I.A. II, 334, 379, 858; IV 2, 385 c. The activity of these two brothers is included within the limits 229 and 213 B.C.

<sup>5</sup> C.I.A. II, 379 (c. 228 B.C.), 858 (c. 225 B.C.), 966 B, l. 21 (c. 190 B.C.), 982 (c. 200 B.C.), 983 (183-2 B.C.); IV 2, 1161 b (c. 210 B.C.); Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 319.

<sup>6</sup> C.I.A. II, 966 A, l. 39 (c. 190 B.C.), 983 (183-2 B.C.); Head H. N. p. 320.

<sup>7</sup> C.I.A. II, 966 A, l. 44 (c. 190 B.C.); at this time he is styled *νεώτερος* = Jr.; 1047 (c. 125 B.C.); Head, H. N. p. 321.

<sup>8</sup> C.I.A. II, 970 (c. 150 B.C.), 1047 (c. 125 B.C.); Head, H. N. p. 321.

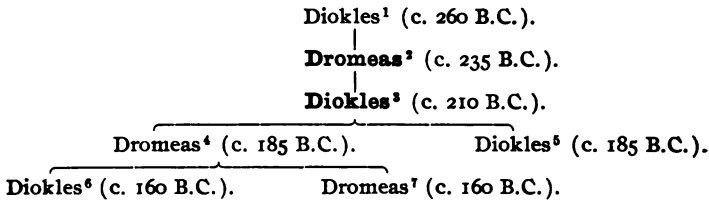
<sup>9</sup> C.I.A. II, 1388, 2169.

<sup>10</sup> C.I.A. II, 1047 (c. 125 B.C.; his name is among the later additions to this list but probably the first names were inscribed earlier than 125 B.C.).

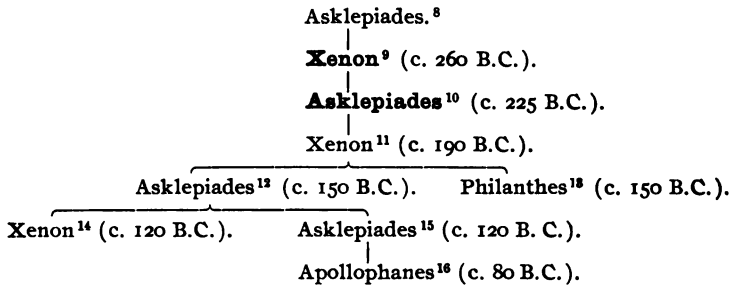
<sup>11</sup> Otherwise unknown.

<sup>12</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 477 d. This stemma disagrees in some respects with that given by Kirchner in his *Prosopographiae Atticae* specimen, 1890, p. 8. For my purpose here the value of both is equal. The years opposite the names in my stemma indicate the approximate time at which each flourished.

## II. Deme = Erchia.



## III. Deme = Phyle.



So the great-grandson of Pausimachos of Kolonos<sup>17</sup> appears to have lived in the neighborhood of 150 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere unknown.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 305 (241-0 B.C.), 334 (228-7 B.C.).

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 330 (245-4 B.C.); Diokles was an ephebe in this year, 334.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II, 983, col. II, l. 82 (183-2 B.C.).

<sup>5</sup> C.I.A. II, 982 (c. 200 B.C.).

<sup>6</sup> C.I.A. II, 1047 (c. 125 B.C.).

<sup>7</sup> C.I.A. II, 444, l. 73 (161-0 B.C.), 445, l. 53 (158-5 B.C.).

<sup>8</sup> Elsewhere unknown.

<sup>9</sup> C.I.A. II, 334 (228-7 B.C.).

<sup>10</sup> C.I.A. II, 334 (228-7 B.C.), 1216; cf. IV 2, 1216 (233-2 B.C.; in Niketes' archonship Asklepiades was general).

<sup>11</sup> C.I.A. II, 983, col. I, l. 98 (183-2 B.C.), 420 (186-5 B.C.).

<sup>12</sup> C.I.A. II, 983, col. I, l. 101 (183-2 B.C.), 1047 (c. 125 B.C.).

<sup>13</sup> C.I.A. II, 983, col. I, l. 102 (183-2 B.C.); B.C.H. XVI (1892), p. 376f. (132-1 B.C.).

<sup>14</sup> B.C.H. VI (1882), p. 320 (118-7 B.C.); III (1879), p. 371 (118-7 B.C.); XV (1891), p. 252 (c. 135 B.C.).

<sup>15</sup> Elsewhere unknown.

<sup>16</sup> C.I.A. II, 465, l. 74 (105-4 B.C.; Apollophanes was an ephebe in this year).

<sup>17</sup> C.I.A. II, 334; cf. II, 1047, l. 28.

Not only do the members of these families whose names are found in our inscription of Diomedon's year appear in other inscriptions of the latter part of the third century, but they are all four generations earlier than those who represented the same families at about 150 B.C. If six generations had intervened, some traces of the fourth and fifth should have remained. Everything points to the last part of the third century for Diomedon, a fact, as Koehler states, now generally conceded: "nemo hodie dubitat quin Diomedon archon non ad tempora belli Chremonidei sed ad ultima decennia saeculi tertii referendus sit."<sup>1</sup>

Now, when we come to consider the secretary, we find that his deme-name was A[.....]. A careful consideration<sup>2</sup> of all the deme-names extant shows that only four are possible, 'Αλωπεκῆθεν, 'Αμαξαντεύς, 'Αλιμούσιος, and 'Αμυμωνεύς. The last name must be rejected at once, inasmuch as it is found only in late Roman times.<sup>3</sup> The two first have to be rejected also, and for this reason: between 229/8 and 213/2 B.C.—the year in which Eurykleides and Mikion were murdered—there is no place for a secretary from either Hippothontis or Antiochis. 'Αλιμούσιος alone remains. For the tribe to which it belongs, Leontis, there are two possibilities, 228/7 and 215/4 B.C. But in the list of contributors already referred to<sup>4</sup> there is found the name of Lykon, the philosopher, who according to Diogenes Laertius succeeded Straton as head of the Peripatetic school in the one hundred and twenty-seventh olympiad, and remained head for forty-four years.<sup>5</sup> Hence the very latest date at which he could have been alive is 225/4 B.C. This leaves 228/7 B.C. as the only possible year for Diomedon.

<sup>1</sup> Note to C.I.A. IV 2, 618 b.

<sup>2</sup> That given by me in *Cornell Studies*, VII (1898), p. 51, was not careful enough. It is now easily possible by means of Bates' lists (*Cornell Studies*, VIII (1898), p. 64 ff.) to make such a consideration.

<sup>3</sup> It belonged to Hippothontis at any rate and hence is liable to the same objection as 'Αμαξαντεύς.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II, 334, frg. d, l. 29.

<sup>5</sup> V, 68.



The successor of Menekrates in the archonship was [.....]ων.<sup>1</sup> Menekrates came between 230/29 and 224/3 B.C. With Kalli- and [.....]ων he forms a compact group of three within the interval. Assuming for Diomedon 228/7 B.C. as certain, and for Chairephon 225/4 B.C. as probable, we have then two positions for Menekrates, according as we fill up [.....]ων with *Διομέδων* or *Χαιρεφῶν*, *viz.*, 229/8 or 226/5 B.C. The latter however is impossible; for it would force Kallaischros<sup>2</sup> into the position of immediate predecessor of Diokles, whereas C.I.A. II, 859, frg. b, l. 3 shows that the predecessor of Diokles had only seven letters in his name.

The contributions made in Diomedon's archonship with a view to the preservation of the city and the defense of the country, find now a ready explanation. We see how it was that the Athenians, upon the withdrawal of the Macedonian garrison through the judicious use which Aratos made of Ptolemy's money, were not forced to throw in their lot with the Achaean League.<sup>3</sup> The citizens themselves came forward, the rich with their money,<sup>4</sup> and the poor with their services. The expenses were met by voluntary contributions, and the country was defended by citizen-garrisons in Eleusis, Phyle, Panakton, and in the open country. The fortifications of the harbours were strengthened and the walls of the city repaired.<sup>5</sup> The new era was marked by a new

<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. II, 859, frg. d, l. 15.

<sup>2</sup> This name is largely restored but it certainly had at least eleven letters; cf. *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1897, p. 42 ff. no. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Holm, *ET.* IV, p. 228 f.; see Bates, *Cornell Studies*, VIII, p. 31 f.

<sup>4</sup> The popularity of the movement for independence is shown by the large number of citizens who in the space of one month in 228-7 B.C. contributed for state defenses the maximum amount of two hundred drachmae; cf. C.I.A. II, 379 for a case of individual patriotism.

<sup>5</sup> C.I.A. II, 379, 380; in 380 there are several references which suggest C.I.A. II, 334, *e.g.*, *ἐξ ἐπιδόσε[ως], εἰς τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν πολιτῶν*, [*ἐ*]πέδωκεν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυ[τοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶ]ν ὑῶ[ν] ἀμφοτέρων δσον πλεῖστον (*i. e.*, 200 drachmae). This being so, the phrase, καὶ [ν]ῦ[ν τοῦ δήμου εἰς τὴν ὀχύρωσιν τοῦ ἐν Ζέφω λιμένο[s ψηφισαμένου ἐπίδοσιν] which must be connected with the καὶ τοὺς λιμένας ὀχύρωσ[ε] of C.I.A. II, 379 (after 229 B.C.), is a confirmation for the location of C.I.A. II, 334, *i. e.*, Diomedon, in the neighborhood of 228-7 B.C.

series of Attic coins with an appropriate device.<sup>1</sup> The period was one of religious activity as well. In Diomedon's archonship a sacred table and ewers were placed in the Asklepieion, and a list of the donors and their dedications to its god was published.<sup>2</sup> In Diokles' archonship a committee appointed by the people to take down and re-adjust the material in the temple made its report,<sup>3</sup> and in Thrasylphon's year the gold and silver offerings to the hero-physician were made over into an oinochoe to be dedicated by the senate to the same god.<sup>4</sup> A new temenos was consecrated to the Demos and the Graces,<sup>5</sup> and the two men, to whom the liberty of Athens was mostly due, Diogenes and Ptolemy, were honored, the one by the institution of the Diogeneia, the other by the introduction of the Ptolemaia. Guided by the wise counsels of Eurykleides and Mikion, Athens looked towards Rome, Attalos, and Ptolemy as guarantors of her neutrality, and during the stormy close of the third century, when the whole Mediterranean basin, Italy, Spain, Carthage, Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Crete, Rhodes, Byzantium, Macedonia, Aetolia, Achaia, and Sparta resounded with the din of war, Attica enjoyed a season of comparative peace.

§ 36. [Ka]lla[ischros] ?.<sup>6</sup> 227/5 B.C.

Theophrastos, a gymnasiarch in Antiphilos' archonship and a hipparch in Menekrates' archonship was promoted to the generalship of Eleusis in that of Kallaischros. This points to a close connection between the three archons. The years intervening between the last two can hardly have been as many as ten, especially since the inscription lacks any indication of such an interval. The Ptolemy mentioned in connection with Theophrastos' functions as gymnasiarch was Ptolemy Euergetes.<sup>7</sup> Had

<sup>1</sup> Head, H. N. p. 316 ff.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 836; cf. above p. 31 f.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 839.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II, 403; cf. Add. 405 b.

<sup>5</sup> Koehler, note to C.I.A. IV 2, 385 c.

<sup>6</sup> *Εφ.* 'Αρχ. 1897, p. 42 ff. no. 13.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. C.I.A. II, 381.

Kallaischros been archon after Archelaos (220/19 B.C.) the reigning Ptolemy would have been Philopator. Something more than the title King would have been required to distinguish the two, and this, as far as we can judge, was wanting.<sup>1</sup> Therefore the probabilities for Kallaischros are 227/6 or 226/5 B.C.

§ 37. C.I.A. IV 2, 385 f. 226/5 or 213/2 B.C.

This decree belongs to the time of the thirteen tribes. The secretary was Ἀριστοτέλης Θεαινέτου Κε[φελήθεν] of the tribe Akamantis. The possibilities are 226/5 and 213/2 B.C. Between them I see no way of deciding. The archon's name had ten letters in its genitive case. If 226/5 B.C. is chosen, then Kallaischros probably belongs to 227/6 B.C.

§ 38. Patiades and Kallistratos.<sup>2</sup> 216/5 and 206/5 B.C.

These two archons are found in the metrical fragment of Apollodoros' chronicle quoted by Philodemos in his list of the Academic philosophers. As deciphered by Gomperz it runs :

—ὀκτώ καὶ δέκα,  
 Τοσαῦτα δ' ἕτερα προσλα[β]ὼν τὴν τοῦ βίου  
 Μεταλλαγὴν ἐποιήσατ' ἐ[π]ὶ Καλλιστράτου,  
 Ἐπὶ Πατιάδου δ' ἕτεροι λέγουσιν, ὧν δέκα  
 Ἔτη [δ]ιαλιπεῖν, τὰπὶ πᾶσι διὰ ν[όσ]ον.  
 Ἐγένοντο δ' αὐτοῦ Πασέας τε καὶ Θράσους  
 Τρίτος δ' Ἀρίστιππος συνήθεις καὶ δύο  
 [Ἐπιση]μότατοι μά[λι]στα Τηλεκλῆς τε καὶ  
 Εὐάνδρος —.

The names Telekles and Euandros show clearly that we have to do with the philosopher Lakydes, who, according to Diogenes Laertius,<sup>3</sup> died in the year 216/5 B.C. One of the two archons, Kallistratos and Patiades, certainly belongs to that year: the other comes ten years before or after. Gomperz thinks that

<sup>1</sup> In 272-1 B.C. ? Ptolemy I was termed *προσβύτερος*; see C.I.A. II, 331.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 406; the secretary was Ἀγωνίδης Ἀπατου[ρίου] —; Bücheler, *Index Herc. Acad. Phil.* col. XXVII, p. 17; Gomperz, *Sitzungsb. d. k. Akad. d. Wissens. zu Wien*, CXXIII (1890), VI, p. 83 ff.; cf. Preuner, *Hermes*, XXIX (1894), p. 554.

<sup>3</sup> IV, 60 f.

Patiades was archon in 216/5 B.C. and Kallistratos in 206/5 B.C. His reason for this view is that in the life of Lakydes there is assigned by Diogenes Laertius an interval of twenty-six years between the death of Arkesilaos in 242/1 B.C. and that of Lakydes in 216/5 B.C., only part of which was spent by him as head of the school. Apollodoros on the other hand, who selected Kallistratos' archonship as that of Lakydes' death, allows to him eighteen years as head of the school and eighteen years besides, or thirty-six in all, noting at the same time the discrepancy of ten years that existed between the two archons to whose years his death was assigned. Kallistratos therefore was thirty-six, Patiades twenty-six, years later than 242/1 B.C. This reasoning seems to me satisfactory. Gomperz then identifies Kallistratos with the *Kalli*— of C.I.A. II, 1591. In this he is clearly wrong; for under no circumstances could Menekrates and his successors in C.I.A. II, 859 have come later than 206/5 B.C. The relations of Athens with the Aetolians and Philip known to exist in the archonships of Chairephon, Diokles, and Aischron are conclusive on that point; for, if Menekrates came in 205/4 B.C., Diokles could have been archon only in one of the two years 202/1 or 201/0 B.C., at which time the Athenians had little desire to be friendly with Philip, or to commend anyone for his efforts to obtain his friendship for them. Besides, the secretary will not allow Diokles to be archon in either of these two years.

§ 39. Thrasyphon.<sup>1</sup> 207/6 B.C. ?

The secretary was — του Παιανιεύς of the tribe Pandionis or Antigonis. This individual belonged to Antigonis; for had he belonged to Pandionis the only possibilities would be 216/5 and 203/2 B.C., both of which are already occupied. Therefore 207/6 B.C. alone is possible for Thrasyphon. The ἀντιγραφεύς who in 223/2 B.C. is termed νεώτερος appears in Thrasyphon's archonship without that title.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. II, 403.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 839, l. 10; II, 403, l. 52.

## § 40. C.I.A. II, 385. 205/4 B.C.

The secretary was — *ς Μενεστράτου Λαμπτρεύς* of the tribe Antigonis or Erechtheis. In the decree the following phrases occur: [τ]ό τε ἄστυ καὶ τὸμ Πειραιᾶ καί, Εὐάνδρον σχολάς, [ὁ βα]σιλεὺς Ἄτταλος. The first refers to the events of 229 B.C. With regard to the other two Koehler says: conlaudabatur homo quidam Pergamenus qui quum Athenis scholas Euandri Academici frequentasset, postea in patriam redux apud Attalum regem de Atheniensibus bene meritus erat. Euander suscepit principatum scholae Academicæ post Lacydem a. 215 a. Ch., vid. Diog. Laert. IV 8 (Cic. Acad. pr. II 6). This dates the inscription between 216/5 and 197 B.C.—the year of Attalos' death. Within these limits the only year possible is 205/4 B.C.

§ 41. Antimachos.<sup>1</sup> 203/2 B.C.?

The secretary belonged to the tribe Pandionis. Different periods are assigned to Antimachos. Schtschoukareff places him in the last quarter of the third cent.: Koehler, Unger, and Wilamowitz are in favor of the first quarter: Schoeffer inclines towards the middle and Wilhelm is non-committal. There would seem therefore to be the following possibilities: 277/6?, 265/4, 253/2, and 203/2 B.C.<sup>2</sup> The identifications made by Schtschoukareff of two names found in C.I.A. II, 303, 304 with similar names found in C.I.A. II, 983 (183/2 B.C.) are strongly in favor of the latest year.<sup>3</sup> In Antimachos' archonship citizens and mercenaries were stationed at Eleusis: the Athenians had some dealings with the Rhodians: contributions had recently been made for the defense of the city. These are our only other clues for distinguishing between the years mentioned above.

<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. II, 303, 304, 1349; cf. 496.

<sup>2</sup> Indeed it is difficult for me to see why 191-0 and 179-8 B.C. should be excluded. Perhaps the lettering determines that much.

<sup>3</sup> In C.I.A. II, 304 *Δυκομήδης Δι* — made the motion: in C.I.A. II, 983, col. II, l. 59 (183-2 B.C.) [*Δυκομήδης*] contributed [on behalf of himself and son and also] on behalf of a second son *Διονυσ*—. In C.I.A. II, 303 — . . . *Ἄριστο[μ . . ο]ν Παλλ[λην]εὺς* put the motion: in C.I.A. II, 983, col. III, l. 81 (183-2), among the contributors was [— *Ἄριστομάχου Παλλη(νεύς)*].

In 253/2 B.C. Macedonian garrisons guarded Attica : contributions for the defense of the city would be then less natural.<sup>1</sup> In 265/4 B.C. the Athenians were cooped up in the city by Antigonos Gonatas : a garrison at Eleusis would be quite improbable. These two years should therefore be rejected. There is nothing known of the situation at Athens in 277/6 B.C. to satisfy any one of our three requirements. Moreover these three years are almost certainly excluded by Schtschoukareff's identifications. There remains only 203/2 B.C. If C.I.A. II, 303 and 304 belong to this year, they prove that the year was intercalary : they do not prove that there were only twelve tribes.

§ 42. **Nikophon and Dionysios.**<sup>2</sup> c. 210 B.C. ?

Nikias, the son of Polyxenos, of Poros, who made the motion in Phanarchides' archonship performed a like function in Dionysios' year.<sup>3</sup> In Dionysios' archonship the priest of Aphrodite and the Graces was Mikion, the son of Eurykleides, of Kephisia, whose ἀκμή may be placed at about 200 B.C.<sup>4</sup> Nikophon preceded Dionysios immediately.<sup>5</sup> Schoeffer assigns the pair to the period 216-206 B.C.<sup>6</sup> which would seem as near right as we can now get.

§ 43. **Phanarchides.**<sup>7</sup> 202/1 B.C. ?

This archon came in the third year of an olympiad. The Eumaridas of the two earlier decrees of C.I.A. IV 2, 385 c (237/6 and 220/19 B.C.) was now dead, and his son was confirmed in his proxenia by Athens. Mikion and Eurykleides were probably dead also, for they no longer patronize the Cretan family. 210/09 and 202/1 B.C. would seem to be the preferable years<sup>8</sup> for Pha-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. however C.I.A. IV 2, 373 g.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 401 ; IV 2, 623 b ; 1161 b.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 385 c ; II, 401.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 1161 b.

<sup>5</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 623 b.

<sup>6</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, II, p. 590.

<sup>7</sup> C.I.A. II, 392 ; IV 2, 385 c.

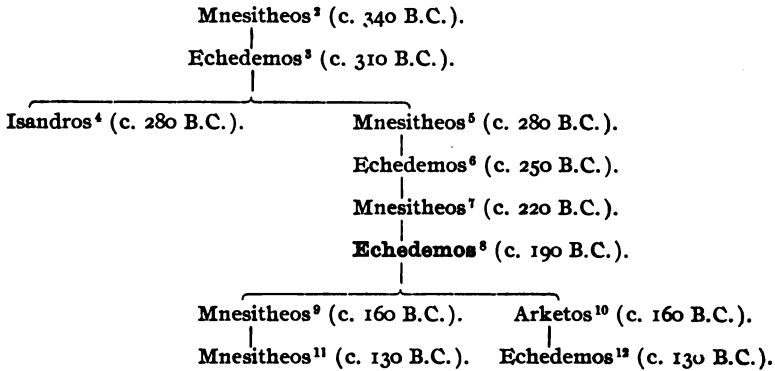
<sup>8</sup> Head, H. N. (Holm, ET. IV, p. 351) thinks that Kydonia, the native city of Eumaridas and his son, was represented at the congress held in Athens in 201 B.C.

narchides. His successor is mentioned in C.I.A. II, 392 as δ μετὰ Φαναρχίδην and occupied an intercalary year. The secretary for the latter year was Προκλῆς Περμ —.

§ 44. **Sosigenes.**<sup>1</sup> c. 200 B.C. ?

The inscription from which we get Sosigenes is headed thus : Ἐπὶ Σωσιγένου ἀρχοντος ο[ἴδε τ — καὶ] τὸν πύργον ἀν[έ]θ[ηκαν]. The following names among those given in the list demand for Sosigenes a place somewhere midway between 228/7 and 183/2 B.C. : Mikion, Diokles, Archias, Aischron, Sosigenes himself, Hierokles. The stemma of the Echedemos' family is as follows :

Deme = Kydathenaion.



Inasmuch as C.I.A. II, 982 lacks the names of the two famous

<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. II, 982.

<sup>2</sup> Otherwise unknown.

<sup>3</sup> Ephebe in 334-3 B.C.; see C.I.A. IV 2, 563 b.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II, 1403; IV 2, 318 b (282-1 B.C.).

<sup>5</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 318 b.

<sup>6</sup> C.I.A. II, 1403.

<sup>7</sup> Unknown but necessary, inasmuch as the father of Mnesitheos and Arketos of C.I.A. II, 983 (183-2 B.C.) cannot have been the son of the Mnesitheos of C.I.A. IV 2, 318 b (282-1 B.C.).

<sup>8</sup> C.I.A. II, 982, 983.

<sup>9</sup> C.I.A. II, 983, 966 (post 191 B.C.).

<sup>10</sup> C.I.A. II, 446 (c. 150 B.C.), 983 (183-2 B.C.).

<sup>11</sup> C.I.A. II, 1047 (c. 125 B.C.), 446 (c. 150 B.C.).

<sup>12</sup> C.I.A. II, 446 (c. 150 B.C.).

statesmen Eurykleides and Mikion<sup>1</sup> there is a likelihood that it belongs after 213 B.C. Schoeffer places it in the period 216-206 B.C. I can see no reason for fixing any definite terminus ante quem. c. 200 B.C. should not be far wrong.

§ 45. Symmachos,<sup>2</sup> Theoxenos,<sup>3</sup> and Zopyros.<sup>4</sup> 188/7-186/5 B.C.

That these three archons follow one another directly in the order given is evident from C.I.A. II, 975, frg. a. The secretaries for Symmachos' and Zopyros' years are extant and give us as possibilities for our group 200/199, 199/8, and 198/7 B.C. and 188/7, 187/6, and 186/5 B.C. 213/2 B.C. and following are excluded by the fact that in Symmachos' archonship there certainly were only twelve tribes.<sup>5</sup> Later than 188/7 ff. B.C. we cannot go, because Hermogenes and Timesianax, the two archons next extant in C.I.A. II, 975, must be assigned to 183/2 and 182/1 B.C. Between 200/199 ff. and 188/7 ff. B.C. we can make a choice with considerable certainty. Fragment a of C.I.A. II, 975 was at the head of a column, but that it headed col. II, where Koehler puts it, and did not stand directly over frg. b at the head of col. III, I do not see how from the fragments themselves anyone can affirm with certainty. From the tangencies of names which occur in the inscriptions of these archons we are able however to affirm the latter. For if it stood as Koehler puts it, then, inasmuch as at least three years must in that case have intervened between Zopyros and 183/2 B.C., 198/7 and not 186/5 B.C. would have to be chosen for Zopyros. But for 186/5 B.C. the following name-connections speak emphatically: (1) The secretary of the orgeones in C.I.A. IV 2, 624 b (175/4 B.C.) had been appointed in Theoxenos' year. A tenure of such an office for 24 years would be unprecedented. (2) Demetrios, the son of

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<sup>1</sup> Only a small portion of the list is extant but the names of Mikion's father and uncle should have immediately preceded his, had they been alive.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 416, 417, 975; IV 2, 417 b, c.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 975; IV 2, 624 b, l. 6.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II, 420, 975.

<sup>5</sup> C.I.A. II, 416; IV 2, 417 c.



Kteson, of Probalinthos, who in Symmachos' year moved C.I.A. IV 2, 417 b, also moved C.I.A. II, 439 in 185/4 B.C. Moreover the two inscriptions dealt with Egyptian matters, and were worded almost identically. In 200/199 B.C. the Ptolemy, whose favor was sought through both decrees, was a boy of only eight or nine years. (3) One of the *ἐπιμεληταὶ τῆς πομπῆς* for Zopyros' year<sup>1</sup> was Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀντιγόνου Ὀτρυνεύς who likewise appears among the *ιεροποιοί* in Lysiadēs' year (166/5 B.C.?).<sup>2</sup> Another of the *hieropoioi* in Lysiadēs' year was [Ἰ]ων Ἀμφιτροπήθεν,<sup>3</sup> who was likewise an *epimeletes* in Zopyros' year. Obviously 186/5 B.C. for Zopyros is none too late to meet the demands of these two names. Another of the *hieropoioi*<sup>4</sup> was Κράτερμος Ῥαμνούσιος the son doubtless of the *epimeletes* for Zopyros' year, Ἀθηναί[δ]ης Κρατέ[ρμ]ου Ῥαμνούσιος. A great-grandson of the *epimeletes* is doubtless to be found in the [Κρ]άτεμ<ν>ος Ἀθηναίου Ῥαμνούσιος of 105/4 B.C.<sup>5</sup> (4) Xenon, the son of Asklepiades, of Phyle, who made the motion in Zopyros' year<sup>6</sup> must have been a comparatively young man in 198/7 B.C. In 183/2 B.C. his two sons were still minors.<sup>7</sup> Among the contributors in 183/2 B.C.<sup>8</sup> is found [Μ]ενέμαχος Ἀνθεστηρίου ἐγ Μυρρινο[ύτ]της who was an *epimeletes* in Zopyros' archonship. A son of Menemachos named Anthesterios was still vigorous in 138/7 B.C.<sup>9</sup> A grandson or grandnephew of the *epimeletes* Ἀγαθοκλῆς Λυσιάδου Βερενικί[δ]ης is to be seen in the *ephebe* — ος Λυσιάδου Βερ(ε)νικίδης of 119/8 B.C.<sup>10</sup> One

<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. II, 420; all the *epimeletai* for Zopyros' year below mentioned come from this inscription.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 953, l. 16; see below p. 62 ff.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 953, l. 28.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II, 953, l. 14.

<sup>5</sup> C.I.A. II, 465, l. 67.

<sup>6</sup> C.I.A. II, 420; cf. p. 45.

<sup>7</sup> C.I.A. II, 983, col. I, l. 98 ff.

<sup>8</sup> C.I.A. II, 983, col. I, l. 43.

<sup>9</sup> See below p. 71; cf. for a brother of Menemachos C.I.A. II, 952, l. 8.

<sup>10</sup> C.I.A. II, 469, l. 125; cf. C.I.A. II, 952, l. 16 for the brother, and C.I.A. II, 1047, l. 20 for the son or nephew, of Agathokles.

of the epimeletai in C.I.A. IV 2, 952 b, l. 12 (c. 125 B.C.)<sup>1</sup> was Εὐβίος Ἡρακῶντος Φυλά[σι]ος, the son of Ἡρακῶν Εὐβίου Φυλάσιος the epimeletes for Zopyros' year.

§ 46. Eupolemos.<sup>2</sup> 185/4 B.C.

Demetrios, the son of Kteson, of Probalinthos, who made a motion in Eupolemos' year,<sup>3</sup> performed a like function in Symmachos' year (188/7 B.C.).<sup>4</sup> Simon, the son of Simon, of Poros, who was among the Dionysiastai in Eupolemos' archonship,<sup>5</sup> made a motion in Hermogenes' year (183/2 B.C.).<sup>6</sup> Dionysogenes, the son of Dionysios, of Paiania, one of the Dionysiastai just mentioned, was among the contributors in 183/2 B.C.<sup>7</sup> Dionysios I, the son of Agathokles, of Marathon, who in Eupolemos' year was priest of Dionysos, and had already been treasurer to the Dionysiastai for several years, (πλείω ἔτη), and was in that year specially commended for his services,<sup>8</sup> made a contribution for himself and his two sons, Agathokles and Dionysios II, in 183/2 B.C.<sup>9</sup> In Hippakos' archonship (176/5 B.C.) he died and his son Agathokles succeeded<sup>10</sup> to his position as priest. Dionysios II won two running races in Phaidrias' archonship (c. 150), and Agathokles' son, Dionysios III, appears in C.I.A. II, 1047 (c. 125 B.C.). When Dionysios I died in 176/5 B.C.,

<sup>1</sup> The date is determined by the fact that another of the epimeletai was Σοφοκλῆς Δημητρίου Ἴφιστ[ίδης] who was secretary in 104-3 B.C. Cf. for a nephew of Ἡρακῶν C.I.A. II, 952, and for a grandnephew, C.I.A. II, 985 C, l. 6. For the father of Τιμοκράτης Τιμοκράτους Θορικός see C.I.A. II, 860, and for the brother see C.I.A. II, 952.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 439, 440; IV 2, 439 b, 623 d; Sitzungsber. d. k. Akad. d. Wissensch. zu Wien, CXXIII (1890), VI, p. 86. In Eupolemos' year Moschion, who in the list of Academic philosophers given by Suidas (s. v. Πλάτων) comes fourth after Lakydes and third before Karneades, died. This in itself almost excludes 197-6 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 439.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 417 b.

<sup>5</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 623 d.

<sup>6</sup> C.I.A. II, 624.

<sup>7</sup> C.I.A. II, 983, col. I, l. 133.

<sup>8</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 623 d.

<sup>9</sup> C.I.A. II, 983, col. III, ll. 87-90; cf. C.I.A. IV 2, 623 e, p. 170.

<sup>10</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 623 e.

the Dionysiastai passed a memorial decree.<sup>1</sup> This was moved by the man who had already succeeded to the treasuryship, Solon, the son of Hermogenes, of Cholargos. Solon was very prominent among the Dionysiastai in Eupolemos' archonship.<sup>2</sup>

The deme of the secretary allows us two possibilities, 197/6 and 185/4 B.C. Of these the latter is certainly to be chosen; for in the first place the decree passed in Eupolemos' year in honor of Dionysios I is most probably the mark of his retirement from active service to the club, and this is more in accord with what a man who had but nine, than with what one who had still twenty-one, years to live would do. It seems to me impossible for twenty-one years to have intervened between the retirement of Dionysios and his death. Again Solon, a leading man in the club in Eupolemos' year, and therefore probably past middle age, was still active and influential in 176/5 B.C. Obviously an interval of nine rather than one of twenty-one years suits these conditions. And finally the activity of Dionysios, Simon, and Dionysogenes in Hermogenes' year (183/2 B.C.), as well as in Eupolemos' year, favors 185/4 rather than 197/6 B.C. for the latter. Demetrios too, the mover of C.I.A. II, 439, was active in 188/7 B.C. All the evidence in fact unmistakably favors 185/4 B.C.

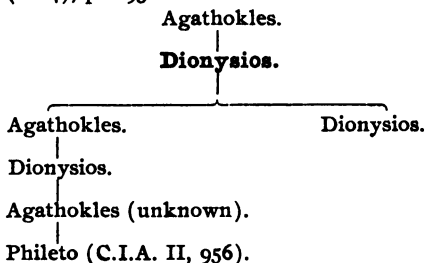
§ 47. **Hermogenes**<sup>3</sup> and **Timesianax**.<sup>4</sup> 183/2-182/1 B.C.

These two archons follow Symmachos and his group and precede Eunikos and Xenokles (169/8 and 168/7 B.C.). The secre-

<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 623 e.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 623 d. The stemma of the Dionysios family may be given: cf. Koehler, *Mitth.* IX (1884), p. 293.

Deme=Marathon.



<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 624, 975, 983.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II, 432, 975.

tary for 'Timesianax' archonship being from the tribe Attalis, within these limits only 183/2, 182/1 B.C. and 171/0, 170/69 B.C. are conceivable for him and his predecessor. Of these the latter pair must be rejected; for between Timesianax and Eunikos there must have intervened at least one year.<sup>1</sup> In this case the position<sup>2</sup> of fragments b and c of C.I.A. II, 975 is positively decided upon by Koehler, and can hardly be questioned. I omit to give the tangencies of the many names found in C.I.A. II, 983: many of them are used in other connections.

§ 48. Hippakos<sup>3</sup> and Sonikos.<sup>4</sup> 176/5-175/4 B.C.

Sonikos was archon while Eumenes II was king,<sup>5</sup> *i. e.*, between 197 and 159 B.C. The secretary belonged to the tribe Oineis, which could have happened within this period only in 187/6, 175/4, and 163/2 B.C. The immediate predecessor of Sonikos was Hippachos.<sup>6</sup> Hippachos must have come later than 183/2 B.C.; for Dionysios I, the son of Agathokles, of Marathon, who in 183/2 B.C. was alive,<sup>7</sup> was dead in Hippachos' year. The sequence of Hermogenes and Sonikos in C.I.A. II, 624 proves the same thing. Therefore 187/6 B.C. must be thrown out. In 163/2 B.C. Erastos was archon:<sup>8</sup> this year could not therefore have belonged to Sonikos. 175/4 B.C. alone remains.

§ 49. Achaios.<sup>9</sup> c. 173 B.C.

The man who made the motion in the decree dated by Achaios was Διοχάρης Ἀρτεμιδόρου Βε[ρηνικίδης]. In the year 101/0 B.C.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See C.I.A. II, 975, col. IV, l. 3.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 975, note on p. 403; sed equidem lapidibus saepius examinatis non dubito, quin duo fragmenta recte a me juncta sint.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 624, l. 24; IV 2, 623 e.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II, 435, 624; IV 2, 435 b, 624 b.

<sup>5</sup> C.I.A. II, 435; Unger (Hermes, XIV (1879), p. 604 f.) objects to the omikron of C.I.A. II, 435, in the name Σόνικος, and proposes [Ι]σόνικος instead. Koehler's introductory remark explains the error; cf. Mitth. IX (1884), p. 292, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> C.I.A. II, 624, l. 24; cf. IV 2, 624.

<sup>7</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 623 e, Koehler's note on p. 170.

<sup>8</sup> See below p. 64 f.

<sup>9</sup> C.I.A. II, 433.

<sup>10</sup> C.I.A. II, 985 E, l. 23.

one of the thesmothetai was Ἀρτεμίδωρος Βε[ρε]νικίδης, the son perhaps of Diochares. Our decree was passed during the reign of Eumenes II of Pergamon, *i. e.*, between 197 and 159 B.C.— Schoeffer doubtfully assigns Achaios to the period 197–1 B.C.— The secretary was Ἡρακλέων Ναν —, which in no way aids us. Because of the name connection above indicated I should prefer the vicinity of the lower limit for Achaios.

§ 50. Tychandros<sup>1</sup> and De —.<sup>2</sup> 172/1–171/0 B.C.

In C.I.A. II, 983, col. III, l. 37 a contribution was made by some relative for [- Ἀρ]τεμδώρου Ἐλευ(σινίου). In Tychandros' archonship this minor was an epebe appearing in C.I.A. II, 1224 as Ξενοκράτης Ἀρτεμδώρου Ἐλευσίνιος. His uncle or cousin Ξενοκράτης Ξενοκράτου Ἐλευσίνιος was the mover of two decrees one in 169/8 and the other in 165/4 B.C.<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 436 was passed on the 27th of Posideon in Tychandros' year. It ends as follows: [ἐπειδὴ ὁ δείνα οἰκ]εῖος ὦν τοῦ [β]ασιλέως Εὐμένου[ς ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ εὔνο]υς ὑπῆρ[ξε]ν καὶ παρεχόμενο[ς χρεῖας κοινῇ τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ κατ' εἰ]δίαν τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις τ[ῶν πολιτῶν εἰς Πέργαμον διετέλεσε, καὶ] ν[ῦν Ε]ὐ[μέ]ν[ους τῆν] ἀρχ[ὴν καταλιπόντος vel παραδόντος vel simile aliquid. Unger,<sup>4</sup> objecting to the last phrase that it should have been καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀττάλου if Eumenes II were dead, suggested that τε be introduced after ἐν and the sentence end with: καὶ ν[ῦν Ε]ὐ[μέ]ν[ους τῆν] ἀρχ[ὴν ἐπιτρέψαντος Ἀττάλω or Φιλεταίρω τῷ ἀδελφῷ κτλ. It is possible too that the ἀρχή, which need not have been the kingship, had been entrusted to the person honored in the decree. It seems to me that the phrase τοῦ [β]ασιλέως Εὐμένου[ς] in the absence of evidence to the contrary, indicates that Eumenes was King at the time the decree was passed. The secretary was from the tribe Aiantis and this could have occurred only in 172/1 and 160/59 B.C. The latter date is

<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. II, 436, 1224.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 1225.

<sup>3</sup> A son of the epebe for Tychandros' year Νικοκράτης Ζωίλου Φλυεὺς is the priest Ζωῖλος Φλυεὺς for 117–6 B.C.; see Cornell Studies, VII, p. 46; cf. Ἀθήν. IV, p. 461.

<sup>4</sup> Hermes, XIV (1879), p. 604 f.

about a year too early to admit of Koehler's interpretation of the inscription just quoted. If the identification of the ephebe *Ξενοκράτης* with the son of Artemidoros of 183/2 B. C. is correct then 172/1 B.C. must certainly be chosen; for an ephebe in 160/59 B.C. could not have been born in 183/2 B.C. Finally it is all but certain that Aristaichmos was archon in 160/59 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Tychandros should therefore be assigned to 172/1 B.C. and his successor, *De—*, to the year following.

§ 51. **Eunikos<sup>2</sup> and Xenokles.<sup>3</sup>** 169/8–168/7 B.C.

C.I.A. II, 975 shows that Eunikos immediately preceded Xenokles. For Xenokles I repeat from Cornell Studies, VII (1898), p. 60 f. "In the papyrus rolls from Herculaneum, Col. XXVIII (Phil. Suppl. II, 1863, p. 543, quoted by Dumont, *Fastes Éponymiques d' Athènes*, p. 18), we read: 'Αγαμήστωρ δὲ μετὰ τὴν Περσέως [ἄλ]ωσιν Αἰ'ας υἱὸς ὦν Πολυξέου ἐπὶ Ξενοκλέους τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ βίου ἐποίησατο. The battle of Pydna was fought on the Roman<sup>4</sup> 4th of Sept., or on the 22nd of June of the Julian calendar, in the year 168 B.C. (Mommsen, *History of Rome*, Vol. II, p. 355), and Perseus was captured a short time afterwards. This would be in the Attic year 168/7 B.C., and surely the Greek quoted above means nothing, if not that Xenokles was archon in that year. The secretary for the year of Xenokles' archonship was *Σθενέδημος Ἀσκ(λ)ηπιάδου Τευθράσιος* of the tribe *Aigeis* (C.I.A. IV 2, 441 d.). According to the unbroken official order *Aigeis* should have the secretaryship in 168/7 B.C." In Xenokles' archonship Eumenes II was on the throne of Pergamon.<sup>5</sup> Since Xenokles necessarily followed Timesianax after an interval of one year or more, the only place possible for a secretary from Aigeis before the death of Eumenes is in 168/7 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> See below p. 65 ff.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 975; IV 2, 441 b, c.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 975; IV 2, 441 d; Bücheler, *Index Herc. Acad. Phil.* p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> This date is determined by an eclipse of the sun.

<sup>5</sup> See C.I.A. IV 2, 441 d, l. 8.

§ 52. *Nikomenes.*<sup>1</sup> 167/6 B.C.

After ἐποιήσατο in Col. XXVIII of the Herculean roll just quoted the narrative continues: ἐπ[ι] Νικο[μέ]νους δ[έ] — — Ἀπολλω[ν] — — ἦρχε. Nikomenes probably occupied 167/6 B.C., the vacant year immediately after that of Xenokles.

§ 53. *Lysiades.*<sup>2</sup> 166/5 B.C. ?

We possess a list of the hieropoioi for the Romaia and Ptolemaia in Lysiades' year.<sup>3</sup> Among them are: Two of the epimeletai for Zopyros' year (186/5 B.C.), [Ἰ]ων Ἀμφιτροπήθεν and Ἀλέξανδρος Ὀτρυνεύς, and the son of another Κράτερος Ῥαμνούσιος, who is at the same time grandfather of Κράτερος <ν>ος Ἀθηγάδου, an ephebe in 105/4 B.C.<sup>4</sup>; the sons of two of the contributors in 183/2 B.C., Σέλευκος Δεκελειεύς and Ποσειδώνιος Λαμπτρέυ[ς],<sup>5</sup> the latter of whom is the grandfather perhaps of [...]οσθένης Ποσειδ[ω]νίου Λαμπτ[ρεύς], an ephebe in 102/1 B.C.<sup>6</sup>; one of the contributors of c. 180 B.C., [Ἀ]ρί[βαλ]ῆος Πειραιεύς<sup>7</sup>; [Ν]υκογένης Φιλαίδης, the agonothetes of the Theseia in 161/0 B.C.<sup>8</sup> and hipparch in 158–5 B.C.<sup>9</sup>; [Ἀν]θεστήριος ἐγ Μυρριν(ούττης), the son of a contributor in 183/2 B.C. and himself an ambassador from Delos to Athens in 160/59 and 138/7 B.C.<sup>10</sup>; [Π]ανσίλυπος Πειραιεύς, the father of the chairman of the proedroi in 118/7 B.C.<sup>11</sup>; Ἐρμῶναξ Ἐρμειος, the father of a theoros in the latter half of the second century B.C.<sup>12</sup>; [Φ]ιλίπιδης Φλυεύς, the son of a contributor in c. 180 B.C.<sup>13</sup>; [Θ]εόδωρος Ῥαμνούσιος, the grandfather

<sup>1</sup> Bücheler, Index Herc. Acad. Phil. p. 17 f.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 953; B.C.H. XVI (1892), p. 371.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 953.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II, 465, l. 67.

<sup>5</sup> C.I.A. II, 933, col. I, l. 23 and l. 35.

<sup>6</sup> C.I.A. II, 467, l. 115.

<sup>7</sup> C.I.A. II, 952, l. 14; cf. II, 626.

<sup>8</sup> C.I.A. II, 444, l. 2, 29, etc.; his son was 12 or 13 years old in this year, l. 52.

<sup>9</sup> C.I.A. II, 445, l. 15.

<sup>10</sup> See below p. 71 f.

<sup>11</sup> C.I.A. II, 469, l. 51.

<sup>12</sup> C.I.A. II, 955, l. 4.

<sup>13</sup> C.I.A. II, 952, l. 19.

perhaps of Θεόδωρ[ος] Θεομένου Ῥαμνούσιος, an ephebe in 107/6 B.C.<sup>1</sup>; Μήδειος Πειραιεύς, the father of Μήδειος Μηδείου Πειραιεύς, archon in 101/0 B.C.<sup>2</sup>; [Ἀ]ρεστος Μαραθώνιος, the father of the paidotribes of the same name for 105/4 B.C.<sup>3</sup>; Μένανδρος Πειραιεύς, the father of the thesmothetes of the same name for 100/99 B.C.<sup>4</sup> and grandfather perhaps of Ἀπόληξίς [Μενά]νδρου Πειραιεύς, an ephebe in 105/4 B.C.<sup>5</sup>; Ἀρχικλῆς Λακιάδης, the same no doubt as the Ἀρχικλῆς Ἀρχικλέους Λακιάδης who appears among the οἱ ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά for Delos in c. 145 B.C.<sup>6</sup>

In the list we find men whose ἀκμή was 185 B.C. as well as sons of these; men who flourished in the neighborhood of 160 B.C.; the fathers of men who were in their prime in 115 B.C. and the grandfathers of lads of between 18 and 20 in 105 B.C. This evidence points unmistakably to the neighborhood of 160 B.C. for Lysiades.

In a Delian decree passed either in the last days of Archon's year (139/8 B.C.) or in the beginning of that of Epikrates (138/7 B.C.), the following sentence occurs:<sup>7</sup> ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματεῖα τοῦ ἐπιμελητοῦ Μνησίφιλον εἰς στήλην λιθίνην, καὶ στήσαι ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς ἀρξασιν τὸν ἐπὶ Δυ[σ]ιάδου ἀρχοντος ἐνιαυτόν. This indicates that Lysiades preceded Archon (139/8 B.C.) but came later than 166 B.C.: it does not indicate, as Doublet,<sup>8</sup> Homolle,<sup>9</sup> and Schoeffer<sup>10</sup> assume, that he was the direct predecessor of Archon. It furthermore indicates that in Lysiades' year some regulation was made to govern the disposition of the decrees passed by the Athenian kleruchs in Delos. The most natural time for

<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. II, 470, l. 100, p. 270.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 1047, 467, etc.; see below p. 86 f.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 465, l. 20.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II, 935 A, l. 12; it is less likely that the last two pairs were grandfathers and grandsons.

<sup>5</sup> C.I.A. 465, l. 96.

<sup>6</sup> B.C.H. VII (1883), p. 338; see above p. 32.

<sup>7</sup> B.C.H. XVI (1892), p. 371, l. 31 ff.

<sup>8</sup> B.C.H. XVI (1892), p. 373.

<sup>9</sup> B.C.H. XVII (1893), p. 162.

<sup>10</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, II, p. 591.



such an enactment is unquestionably the period of the establishment of Athenian government in the island, *i.e.*, 166/5 B.C. I therefore, though with some diffidence, assign Lysiades to this year.

§ 54. Pelops.<sup>1</sup> 165/4 B.C.

The Delian decree published in the Bulletin for 1889, p. 244 shows that Pelops is posterior to 166 B.C., the year in which Athens got possession of the island. At the same time the comparison Fougères there makes between the decree just mentioned and one from Oropos, shows that the interval was not very great; for Ἀμφικλῆς Φιλοξένου, who even before 166 B.C. had had an international reputation as a rhapsodist, was still starring in Pelops' year.<sup>2</sup> In Eunikos' archonship (169/8 B.C.) the mover of a decree was Ξενοκράτης Ξενοκράτου Ἐλευσίνιος.<sup>3</sup> In Pelops' archonship the same individual performed a like function.<sup>4</sup> The secretary was Διονυσικλῆς Διονυσίου Ἐκαλήθεν of the tribe Ptolemais. The two years which might be taken into consideration are 165/4 and 153/2 B.C., but all the evidence is in favor of the earlier of these.

§ 55. *Euerg* –,<sup>5</sup> Erastos,<sup>6</sup> Poseidonios,<sup>7</sup> and Aristolas.<sup>8</sup> 164/3–161/0 B.C.

The secretary for Aristolas' archonship was from the tribe Hippothontis. From C.I.A. II, 975 we learn that the four archons now to be dated came in a bunch in the order given and followed Xenokles at no very great distance. Hippothontis had the secretaryship in 161/0 and 149/8 B.C. Apart from the fact that, if the latter year were chosen, *Euerg* – and Hagnotheos would clash in 152/1 B.C.,<sup>9</sup> it seems to me from C.I.A. II, 975 impos-

<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. II Add. Nov. 477 b; IV 2, 477 c; B.C.H. XIII (1889), p. 244 f.

<sup>2</sup> B.C.H. XIII (1889), p. 248 f.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 441 b.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 477 c, l. 30.

<sup>5</sup> C.I.A. II, 975.

<sup>6</sup> C.I.A. II, 975.

<sup>7</sup> C.I.A. II, 975, 1200; B.C.H. IV (1880), p. 183.

<sup>8</sup> C.I.A. II, 444, 975; B.C.H. IV (1880), p. 184; Mitth. XXI (1896), p. 434.

<sup>9</sup> See below p. 68.

sible for sixteen years to have intervened between Xenokles and *Euerg* -. By the Delian accounts published in B.C.H. IV (1880), p. 183f., it is shown that Poseidonios came within the nine years following 166/5 B.C.; for a loan made before the Athenian occupation of Delos, and which was payable at the outside within ten years, became due in Poseidonios' archonship.<sup>1</sup> Indeed Homolle has assigned Alkimachos, the Delian archon in whose year the loan was made, to the year 169 B.C.<sup>2</sup> Hence the very latest possible year for Poseidonios is 159 B.C. For this group therefore the years 164/3 ff. B.C. are certainly to be assigned.

§ 56. *Aristaichmos*<sup>3</sup> and *Nikomachos*.<sup>4</sup> 160/59 and 136/5 B.C.

These two archon names occur in Philodemos' life of the Academic philosopher Philon: Φίλων δὲ διαδεξά[με]νος Κλει[τό]μαχ[ον] ἐγενν[ή]θη μὲν ἐπ' Ἀρισταίχμο[υ, π]αρεγένε[το] δ' εἰς [Ἀθῆν]ας [πε]ρὶ τέ[τ]τα[ρα κ]αὶ ε[κ]κοσί[ων] [που] ἔχων ἔ[τη] κατὰ Νικόμαχ[ον], ἐσχολακῶς [ἐν] τῇ πατρίδι Καλλ[ε]κλεί τῷ Καρ[υ]εάδου [γνω]ρίμῳ περὶ ὅκ[τω] καὶ δέκ[τ] ἔτη. Κλ[ε]ιτομά[χ]ω δὲ δέκα [κ]αὶ τ[έ]ταρ[α] (ἐσχόλασεν) --- Ἀπ[ο]λλοδώ[ρ]ω δὲ --- Στωικῶ --- [ἡ]ρατο δ' ἠγείσθαι τῆ[ς] σχο[λ]ῆς [ἐ]π[ὶ] Π[ο]λυκ[λ]εῖτου βίωσ[ας] δ' ἐ[... ]κοντ' <sup>6</sup> ἔτ[η] καὶ ---.

The accession of Philon to the head of the school being fixed in 110/09 B.C.,<sup>7</sup> the link missing in the account of his life is the number of years he spent with Apollodoros. This much is certain that at least fourteen years intervened between Polykleitos and Nikomachos. Since that is so, there must have intervened at least twenty-three, since there is no place for Nikomachos between 124/3 and 133/2 B.C.<sup>8</sup> Consequently the least possible

<sup>1</sup> B.C.H. IV (1880), p. 184 f.

<sup>2</sup> B.C.H. X (1886), p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.G. 2270; Bücheler, Index Herc. Acad. Phil. p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Bücheler, l. c.

<sup>5</sup> B.C.H. XVII (1893), p. 149.

<sup>6</sup> Bücheler thinks that the number of spaces in the papyrus renders *ἑβδομήκοντα* impossible here. The fac-simile printed by Homolle (B.C.H. XVII (1893), p. 149, n. 2) does not bear him out. Indeed I fancy I can see the hasta of a Beta reproduced there. *ἑβδομήκοντα* seems necessary.

<sup>7</sup> See below p. 84 f.

<sup>8</sup> See below p. 73 ff.

number of years Philon could have studied with Apollodoros is nine. On the other hand he cannot have studied with the Stoic for more than thirteen, since in that event Aristaichmos, who comes within a short interval after 166 B.C. but certainly not in 165/4 B.C., could find no place, there being no vacancy in the archon list between 164/3 and 161/0 B.C. Now the number of years spent by Philon under Apollodoros is extant in Philodemos as follows: δε . . δυο . μ : δευτα | .ωι, for which Bücheler suggests,<sup>1</sup> but does not print, δ' ε[τι] δύο [τῷ ἐπιτη]δε[ω] τὰ τῷ Στωικῷ κτλ. Seeing that δύο is certain, there can be no doubt that a δέκα accompanied it. The passage must therefore be restored in some such way as this: 'Απ[ολλοδώ]ρφ δ' ε[τι] δύο [καὶ] δέ[κα] α [τ]ῷ Στωικῷ κτλ. This fixes the archonship of Nikomachos in 136/5 B.C. and that of Aristaichmos in 160/59 B.C., since the πον and κατά of the passage quoted, though they indicate that the writer was uncertain of the age of Philon when he came to Athens, do not indicate that the number of years between Aristaichmos and Nikomachos was more or less than twenty-four. The Delian inscription of Aristaichmos' archonship, published as no. 2270 of C.I.G., supports the date 160/59 B.C. à merveille. For we find that Eubulos, the son of Demetrios, of Marathon,<sup>2</sup> after having been the first as ἀρχιθέωρος to get for the kleruchs at Delos the public award in the theatre at Athens of a gold crown won at the Panathenaia, had before Aristaichmos' year, in which he was priest of Dionysios, been twice elected priest of the Great Deities, and once priest of Asklepios. Inasmuch as the priestships probably fell to him in four consecutive years, the first victory gained at the Panathenaia by the kleruchs after their settlement on Delos in 166 B.C., in all likelihood was won in either 165/4 or 164/3 B.C.

The life of Philon adjusts itself as follows: He was born at Larissa in 160/59 B.C. and studied there with Kallikles, a disciple of Karneades, for 18? years. In 136/5 B.C. or thereabouts he came to Athens, and studied with Kleitomachos until 122/1 B.C.,

<sup>1</sup> Index Herc. Acad. Phil. col. XXXIII, note on l. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Demetrios of Marathon, the priest of Serapis for 124-3 B.C., was a son of Eubulos; cf. B.C.H. VI (1882), p. 333.

and then for twelve years longer with Apollodoros the Stoic. In 110/09 B.C. he succeeded Kleitomachos as head of the Academy. In 88 B.C. he went to Rome and died there some time before 80 B.C.

§ 57. Anthesterios,<sup>1</sup> Kallistratos,<sup>2</sup> and Mnesitheos.<sup>3</sup> 158/7-153/2 B.C.

There is no clear indication of the interval between Aristolas (161/0 B.C.) and Anthesterios to be found in C.I.A. II, 975. It is, however, either more than one year or none at all, since in no case did the comic exhibitions take place in two successive years, whereas in Aristolas' year and in that immediately preceding Anthesterios they *did* take place. The extent of the interval may be determined by means of C.I.A. II, 444 (Aristolas) and 445 (Anthesterios). In the former, lines 71 f. of col. II read as follows: *παῖδας παγκράτιον τῆς δευτέρας[ς] ἡλ[ικίας].*<sup>4</sup> \*Αβρων Καλλίου [Ο]ἰν[ε]ῖδος φυλῆς. In the latter, line 11 of col. II runs: *παῖδας ἐκ πάντων πυγμῆν.* \*Αβ[ρ]ων Καλ(λ)ίου Ἀθηναῖος. This allows at the outside only four free years to intervene between Aristolas and Anthesterios, and so the group must come between 161/0 and Hagnotheos' year (152/1 B.C.). Aristaichmos belongs to 160/59 B.C. Anthesterios for the reason given above cannot have come in 159/8 B.C. 158/7, 157/6, and 156/5 alone remain. In one of these Anthesterios was archon.

§ 58. Phaidrias.<sup>5</sup> 153/2, 151/0, or 150/49 B.C.

To this archonship belongs a list of the victors at the Theseia disposed according to the classes in which each competed. In the torch-race open to οἱ ἔνοι ἔφηβοι, and in the wrestling match open to *παῖδες ἐκ πάντων, Εὐαρχίδας Ἀνδρέου* of the tribe Antiochis

<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. II, 445, 975; B.C.H. III (1879), p. 313; *ibid.* IV (1880), p. 185 f.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 954?, 975; B.C.H. IV (1880), p. 186.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 975.

<sup>4</sup> Rangabé (*Ant. hell.* II, 678 ff.) calculates that *παῖδες τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας* were from 12 to 14 years old; *παῖδες τῆς δευτέρας ἡλικίας* from 14 to 16, and *παῖδες τῆς τρίτης ἡλικίας* from 16 to 20.

<sup>5</sup> C.I.A. II, 446; C.I.G. 2271 = Foucart, *Assoc. Relig. chez les Grecs*, p. 223.

won.<sup>1</sup> This same individual was victor, in Anthesterios' archonship, in the wrestling match open to *παῖδες τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας*.<sup>2</sup> According as Euarchidas was in his twelfth or thirteenth year in Anthesterios' archonship, seeing that he was in his eighteenth when Phaidrias was archon, four or five free years intervene between these two archons. Two other names occurring in the lists of both years corroborate the evidence already presented. In Phaidrias' year the winner of the event described as *τῆς τρίτης ἡλικίας ἐν [ἀσπι]δίῳ καὶ δ[όρατι]* was *Εὐδοξος Εὐδόξου* of the tribe Hippothontis, who in Anthesterios' year was the winner in the competition defined as *[ὀπλομαχῶν ἐ]ν [θυρε]ῳ*, and open to *παῖδες τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας*.<sup>3</sup> The winner of the boxing match open to *παῖδες ἐκ πάντων* in Phaidrias' archonship was *Μησιθέος Μησιθέου* of the tribe Oineis, who in Anthesterios' year won the same event when open to *παῖδες τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας*.<sup>4</sup> From this evidence it is seen that 153/2, 151/0, and 150/49 B.C. are the only years possible for Phaidrias.

§ 59. Hagnotheos.<sup>5</sup> 152/1 B.C.

The secretary being from the tribe Akamantis, the only place possible for Hagnotheos is 152/1 B.C.<sup>6</sup> This is shown by the following quotation from Philodemos: \*Ἦλθε δ' (Κλειτόμαχος) εἰ[s 'Α]θήνα[s ἐτ]ῶν τετ[τ]άρ[ω]ν πρὸς εἰ[κο]σι γε[γονῶ]ς, [μ]ετὰ δὲ τέ[τ]ταρα σχολάζειν ἤρξατο [Κ]αρνεάδ[ῃ] καὶ σ[υγ]γενόμ[ε]νος ἐν [κ]αὶ δέκ' αὐτῷ σχ[ολ]ῆν ἰδίαν ἐπὶ Παλλαδί[ῳ σ]υνε[στ]ήσατο ἄρχον[τος Α]γνο[θ]έου καὶ συνέσχεν - . The death of Kleitomachos occurred in Polykleitos' archonship (110/09 B.C.).<sup>7</sup> The life of Kleitomachos may now be written. He was born at Carthage in 191/0 B.C., came to Athens in 167/6 B.C., and four years later in 163/2 B.C. began to study philosophy under Karneades. In 152/1 B.C. he founded a

<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. II, 446, l. 64 and l. 43.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 445, l. 61.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 446, l. 76; 445, l. 25.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II, 446, l. 53; 445, l. 5.

<sup>5</sup> C.I.A. II, 458; IV 2, 458 b, c; Bücheler, *Index Herc. Acad. Phil.* p. 15.

<sup>6</sup> 140-39 B.C. is almost certainly occupied by Antitheos.

<sup>7</sup> See above p. 65 and below p. 84f.

school of his own in the Palladion.<sup>1</sup> There he continued to teach for twenty-three years, but in 129/8 B.C. joined the Academy with many pupils. Two years later he succeeded Krates of Tarsos as head, and continued head until his death in 110/09 B.C.

§ 60. **Zaleukos.**<sup>2</sup> c. 145 B.C.

The date of Zaleukos can only be approximated. In his archonship the *ἀγορανόμοι* at Delos were *Σήραμβος Ἡραΐππου Ἐρμειος*, *Σωτάδης Σωτάδου Αἰγυλιεύς*, and *Γοργίας Ἀσκληπιάδου Ἴωνίδης*. By Serambos Zaleukos is connected with Anthesterios (158–5 B.C.),<sup>3</sup> by Sotades with the archon Xenon (c. 135 B.C.)<sup>4</sup> and indirectly with Staseas priest of Serapis in 118/7 B.C., and by Gorgias with Epikrates (138/7 B.C.).<sup>5</sup> Zaleukos would therefore seem to have been archon somewhere between 150 and 140 B.C.

§ 61. **Philon.**<sup>6</sup> c. 145 B.C.

The tangencies of *Σίμων Πόριος*, one of the epimeletai of a religious association in Philon's year, help us in determining the date of this archon. A Simon, son of Simon, of Poros was prominent among the Dionysiastai in Eupolemos' year (185/4 B.C.),<sup>7</sup> and in Hermogenes' year (183/2 B.C.), made a motion before a similar religious association.<sup>8</sup> Homolle, identifying Philon with *Φίλων Τ[... ἐκ Κολ]ωνοῦ*, the epimeletes of Delos for 135/4 B.C., assigns to him a year somewhere between 150 and 146 B.C.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Of him Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.* III, 22) says: *Legimus librum Clitomachi, quem ille eversa Carthagine misit consolandi causa ad captivos cives suos.* Dumont (*Fastes Épony.* p. 20) took this to show that in 146 B.C. Kleitomachos had already opened his own school, while Bücheler, Homolle, and Schoeffer thought it necessarily proved only that he had come to Athens before that year. The view which transcended the strict inferences the facts warranted has proved correct.

<sup>2</sup> B.C.H. X (1886), p. 33; XIII (1889), p. 409 f.

<sup>3</sup> B.C.H. III (1879), p. 313.

<sup>4</sup> B.C.H. XV (1891), p. 252; see below p. 73.

<sup>5</sup> B.C.H. XIII (1889), p. 415.

<sup>6</sup> C.I.A. II, 621.

<sup>7</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 623 d.

<sup>8</sup> C.I.A. II, 624.

<sup>9</sup> B.C.H. XVI (1892), p. 481; XVII (1893), p. 164.

Schoeffer ascribes him to the period 154-48 B.C. Taking the Simon of Philon's year as a son of the Simon of 185/4 and 183/2 B.C., I think the archonship of Philon may be set down to some year between 150 and 140 B.C.

§ 62. **Antitheos.**<sup>1</sup> 140/39 B.C.

After telling us the story of the capture of Corinth and of the subsequent settlement of Greece effected by the Romans, Pausanias says: 'Ὁ δὲ πόλεμος ἔσχεν οὗτος τέλος Ἀντιθέου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἀρχοντας, Ὀλυμπιάδι δὲ ἐξηκοστῇ πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατόν, ἣν ἐνίκα Διόδωρος Σικυώνιος. From this it seems to me impossible to ascribe Antitheos to any year but 140/39 B.C. Pausanias evidently followed the tradition in regard to the capture of Corinth which Appian<sup>2</sup> seems to have preferred, who in his *Διβυκή* states that that event happened ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν Ὀλυμπιάδας.

§ 63. **Archon**<sup>3</sup> and **Epikrates.**<sup>4</sup> 139/8-138/7 B.C.

An inscription published in the Bulletin for 1892<sup>5</sup> shows that Archon preceded Epikrates immediately. The secretary for the latter year was from the tribe Kekropis. In Epikrates' year a decree of the Athenian kleruchs at Delos in honor of Γοργίας Ἀσκληπιάδου Ἴωνίδης was ratified by the Demos at Athens.<sup>6</sup> Gorgias had as colleague in the ἀγορανομία at Delos in Zaleukos' archonship Σήραμβος Ἡραίππου Ἑρμειος and Σωτάδης Σωτάδου Αἰγυλιεύς.<sup>7</sup> Serambos leased a workshop from the Delian sacred domain in Anthesterios' archonship (158-5 B.C.).<sup>8</sup> Sotades had

<sup>1</sup> Paus. VII, 16, 10.

<sup>2</sup> p. 135; cf. Scaliger, ed. Scheibel, p. 155, n. 1218 and p. 157, n. 1230 f. Homolle is alone in ascribing Antitheos to the year in which Corinth was actually captured, 146-5 B.C. (B.C.H. XVII (1893), p. 162).

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 421; B.C.H. XIII (1889), p. 420 ff. p. 426; XVI (1892), p. 369 ff.

<sup>4</sup> B.C.H. XIII (1889), p. 413 ff.; XVI (1892), p. 369 ff.; Arch. Zeit. XVIII (1860), Anzeiger, p. 109.

<sup>5</sup> p. 372.

<sup>6</sup> B.C.H. XIII (1889), p. 415.

<sup>7</sup> B.C.H. X (1886), p. 33; XIII (1889), p. 410.

<sup>8</sup> B.C.H. III (1879), p. 313.

as colleague, when paidotribes in Xenon's archonship (c. 135 B.C.),<sup>1</sup> Στασείας Κολωνήθεν, who was priest of Serapis in 118/7 B.C.<sup>2</sup> Philokles, a son of Staseas, was a *παῖς* in Xenon's archonship or a few years earlier.<sup>3</sup> Another youth enrolled under Staseas in the same year as Philokles was Διοκλῆς Διοκλέους, whose father perhaps is the priest of Serapis for 122/1 B.C.<sup>4</sup> Besides Philokles, Staseas had a son named Σαραπίων, who became priest of Zeus Kynthios and Athena Kynthia in Prokles' archonship (99/8 B.C.).<sup>5</sup> The man who in Epikrates' year moved that the honors to Gorgias be ratified by the Athenian demos, was Περιγένης Θαλασιγένου Τρι[κορύσιος].<sup>6</sup> Perigenes performed a like function in the case of the Delian agoranomoi for Archon's archonship.<sup>7</sup> In Ergokles' year (132/1 B.C.) he was the chairman of the board of proedroi when another Delian matter was under discussion.<sup>8</sup>

In Zopyros' archonship (186/5 B.C.) one of the epimeletai commended for their services was [M]ενέμαχος Ἀνθεστηρίου ἐγ Μυρρῖνο[ύ]της.<sup>9</sup> In Aristaichmos' archonship (160/59 B.C.)<sup>10</sup> and in Epikrates' archonship<sup>11</sup> the most prominent among the ambassadors from Delos to Athens was Ἀνθεστήριος ἐγ Μυρρῖνούττης. In Lysiades' archonship (166/5 B.C.?) among the hieropoioi for the Ptolemaia the same person is mentioned.<sup>12</sup> The treasurer for Archon's year, Nikodemos,<sup>13</sup> is known to have been from the deme Hamaxanteia.<sup>14</sup> Among the ephebes for 123/2 B.C. was

<sup>1</sup> B.C.H. XV (1891), p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> Cornell Studies, VII (1898), p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> B.C.H. XV (1891), p. 257 f.

<sup>4</sup> B.C.H. XV (1891), p. 257 f.; cf. Cornell Studies, VII (1898), p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> *Δθήν.* II, p. 132; Lebègue, *Rech. sur Délos*, p. 156 quoted in B.C.H. XIII (1889), p. 412, n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> B.C.H. XIII (1889), p. 415.

<sup>7</sup> B.C.H. XVI (1892), p. 372.

<sup>8</sup> B.C.H. XVI (1892), p. 376.

<sup>9</sup> C.I.A. II, 420.

<sup>10</sup> C.I.G. 2270.

<sup>11</sup> B.C.H. XVI (1892), p. 371 f.

<sup>12</sup> C.I.A. II, 953.

<sup>13</sup> B.C.H. XIII (1889), p. 421 f.

<sup>14</sup> B.C.H. XIII (1889), p. 430.



Δημήτριος Νικοδήμου Ἀμαξαντε[ύς] a son of the treasurer doubtless.<sup>1</sup> Homolle identifies Nikodemos with the archon for 122/1 B.C. In 183/2 B.C. a man named Menedemos of Kydathenaion made a contribution for his boy Archon.<sup>2</sup> Menedemos likewise appears in the much-cited inscription C.I.A. II, 1047 (c. 125 B.C.?). Homolle identifies this Archon with the eponymous magistrate of the same name.<sup>3</sup> In Phaidrias' archonship (c. 150 B.C.) the agonothetes for the Theseia was Μιλτιάδης Ζωίλου Μαραθώνιος,<sup>4</sup> who in Archon's year had some expensive duties in connection with the *σιτωνικά* to perform, in Theaitetos' year had some similar burdens, and in the year probably in which [- - B]ουτάδης was secretary was agonothetes for the Panathenaia.<sup>5</sup> In some year shortly before that of Archon he had been agonothetes for the Dionysia.

The secretary allows for Epikrates 150/49 and 138/7 B.C. The mass of the evidence favors the latter. For the decree in honor of Gorgias was probably passed later than the year in which he was agoranomos. Staseas, the contemporary of Sotades who was colleague of Gorgias in the agoranomia, could hardly have been matured earlier than 150/49 B.C., seeing that he was priest thirty-two years later. From the chronology of his sons his prime would seem to fall in the neighborhood of 135 B.C. Serambos was a young man beginning business in 158-5 B.C. Perigenes connects Epikrates closely with the year 132/1 B.C. The tangencies of Anthesterios favor the earlier date, but do not exclude the later. The family relations of Anthesterios no doubt made him a *persona grata* with the demos at Athens. Hence his selection as ambassador when in his prime in 160/59 B.C., and again twenty-two years afterwards. Nikodemos was in his prime in the neighborhood of 130 B.C. Miltiades could hardly have had three expensive agonothesia to perform in the short period of about ten years.

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<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. II, 471, col. IV, l. 116.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 983, col. I, l. 55.

<sup>3</sup> B.C.H. XVII (1893), p. 162, n. 7.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II, 446.

<sup>5</sup> C.I.A. II, 421; IV 2, 421.

§ 64. Theaitetos.<sup>1</sup> 137/6 B.C. ?

Theaitetos came later than Archon (139/8 B.C.)<sup>2</sup> and earlier than 129/8 B.C. The latter year is determined by the fact that the inscription in which Theaitetos is mentioned was passed in the year in which [— B]ουράδης was secretary.<sup>3</sup> Theaitetos therefore was archon in one of the years 137/6, 135/4, and 134/3 B.C. 137/6 B.C. is the most probable of the three, because of the close connection of Theaitetos and Archon indicated in C.I.A. IV 2, 421.

§ 65. Xenon.<sup>4</sup> 135/4 B.C. ?

There can be no doubt that Homolle<sup>5</sup> is right in identifying the archon Xenon with Xenon, the son of Asklepiades, of Phyle, epimeletes of Delos in 118/7 B.C.<sup>6</sup> Asklepiades, the father of Xenon, was born some years before 183/2 B.C.<sup>7</sup> Sotades, the agoranomos of Zaleukos' year,<sup>8</sup> was paidotribes in Xenon's year,<sup>9</sup> and Staseas, the paidotribes of Xenon's year,<sup>10</sup> was priest of Serapis in 118/7 B.C.<sup>11</sup> The most probable location for Xenon, therefore, seems to be some year in the neighborhood of 135 B.C.

§ 66. Timarchos.<sup>12</sup> 134/3 B.C.

On the basis of an inscription not yet published Colin<sup>13</sup> announces that Timarchos coincides with the Delphian archon Τιμόκριτος Εὐκλείδα, who, belonging to the ninth priestship, held

<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. II, 421; IV 2, 421.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 421, lines 35 and 36.

<sup>3</sup> The union of fragment a of C.I.A. II, 421 with the beginning of fragment b is not affected by the re-arrangement of the inscription made in C.I.A. IV 2, 421.

<sup>4</sup> B.C.H. XV (1891), p. 252 ff.

<sup>5</sup> B.C.H. XVII (1893), p. 164.

<sup>6</sup> B.C.H. III (1879), p. 370 f.; VI (1882), p. 320; see above p. 46.

<sup>7</sup> C.I.A. II, 983, col. I, l. 101 f.

<sup>8</sup> B.C.H. XIII (1889), p. 409 f.

<sup>9</sup> B.C.H. XV (1891), p. 252 ff.; cf. XIX (1895), p. 511.

<sup>10</sup> B.C.H. XV (1891), p. 252 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Cornell Studies, VII (1898), p. 46.

<sup>12</sup> C.I.A. II Add. 453 b.

<sup>13</sup> B.C.H. XXII (1898), p. 147 f.

office a little before 130 B.C. We may therefore place Timarchos in the interval between 137/6 and 134/3 B.C. and perhaps in the last year of the period.

§ 67. **Metrophanes,<sup>1</sup> Ergokles,<sup>2</sup> and Epikles.<sup>3</sup>** 133/2–131/0 B.C.

That Ergokles directly precedes Epikles is shown by C.I.A. II, 594, and that Metrophanes was the immediate predecessor of Ergokles is made practically certain by an inscription published in the Bulletin.<sup>4</sup> The secretary for Metrophanes year was from the tribe Erechtheis.

In the Herculanean list of the Academic philosophers Epikles figures in connection with the death of Karneades I, son of Polemarchos, the namesake and contemporary of the famous son of Epikomos or Philokomos. In the same connection the following statement is made: <sup>5</sup> Κλ[ειτόμαχ]ος εἰς Ἀκαδημί[αν] ἐπέβαλεν μετὰ πολλ[ῶν] γ[νωρίμω]ν – πρότερον γὰρ ἐσχόλαζο[ν ἐν] Πα[λλ]αδ[ίω] – μετὰ τὴν Καρν[εάδ]ου [τε]λευ[τή]ν.<sup>6</sup> Now it was *two years* after the death of Karneades I that Kleitomachos came to the Academy as is shown by the following passage quoted by Philodemos from Apollodoros: <sup>7</sup> Παρὰ [Καρ]νεάδου δ[ὲ] τοῦ Πολεμάρχου τὸν βίω[ν] ἐπ' Ἐπικλέους [ἄρ]χοντο[ς] ἐγλελο[ιπό]τος [Κρ]άτης ὁ Τ[α]ρσεὺς τ[ῆ]ν [σ]χολήν δ[ι]εδέξατο· τοῦτου δὲ δὴ ἔτ[η] διακατασχόντος μόνον Κλειτόμα[χ]ος ἐν [τῷ] [Π]αλλαδίω [σ]χο[λ]ήν – εἰς τὴν Ἀ[καδ]ημ[ί]αν μ[ε]τῆλ[θ]ε γνω[ρίμων] πολλῶν μετὰ. Or as Philodemos puts it himself: <sup>8</sup> [Καρ]νεάδ[η]ν διαδεξάμ[ενο]ς ἠγήσα[το δ]ὲ ἔτη, κατ[έστρ]ειψ[ε] δὲ

<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. II, 408; B.C.H. XIII (1889), p. 250; XVI (1892), p. 374 ff.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 594; B.C.H. XVI (1892), p. 376.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 459, 594; Bücheler, Index Herc. Acad. Phil. pp. 16 and 18.

<sup>4</sup> B.C.H. XVI (1892), p. 376.

<sup>5</sup> Bücheler, Index Herc. Acad. Phil. p. 15.

<sup>6</sup> There is no trace of another line here, though Bücheler, to get over the difficulty this statement caused him, was inclined to think that one must have fallen out; see Phil. Suppl. II (1863), p. 541.

<sup>7</sup> Büch. l. c. p. 18 and Sitzungsab. d. k. Akad. d. Wissens. zu Wien, CXXIII (1890), VI, p. 84; see Gomperz, Jenaer Literaturzeitung (1875), p. 603; Rohde, Rhein. Mus. XXXIII (1878), p. 622 f.; Gomperz, Sitzungsab. l. c. p. 83.

<sup>8</sup> Büch. l. c. p. 16.

Ἐ[πικ]λέου[ς] ἄρχο[ντο]ς, κ[ατ]έλι[πε]ν δὲ διάδο[χ]ον τὸν συσ[χ]ο-  
 λαστῆ[ν] Κράτητα Ταρσ[έ]α τὸ γέν[ος, ἢ] γήσατο δ' [οὗτος] ἔτη τέτταρα.  
 Therefore it must have been at the time of the death of Karneades  
 II, the son of Epikomos or Philokomos, that Kleitomachos entered  
 the Academy. This event Apollodoros, as quoted by Diogenes  
 Laertius,<sup>1</sup> assigned to the year 129/8 B.C. Two years before in  
 131/0 B.C. Karneades I died and Epikles was archon. The sec-  
 retary for Metrophanes' year being from Erechtheis, 131/0 B.C. is  
 the year demanded for Epikles by the official order also.

How it came about that Karneades II resigned the headship of  
 the school four years before his death, it is futile to enquire. His  
 act was not without a precedent in the history of the Academic  
 school; for Lakydes had done the same thing before him.<sup>2</sup> The  
 blindness of Karneades must in any case have incapacitated him  
 for work.<sup>3</sup> Diogenes Laertius omitted to mention the resignation  
 of Karneades II because of its approximate coincidence with his  
 death. The fact that Kleitomachos came to the Academy at the  
 time that event happened explains why the same writer, neglect-  
 ing Karneades I and Krates of Tarsos, who were heads of the  
 school from 133/2 to 131/0, and from 131/0 to 127/6 B.C. respec-  
 tively, states bluntly<sup>4</sup> that Kleitomachos was the successor of  
 Karneades II. Kleitomachos may indeed have been joint head of  
 the school from 129/8 to 127/6 B.C. just as Euandros and Telekles  
 were associated after the death of Lakydes.<sup>5</sup>

The following name connections support the general location of  
 this group: The mover of a decree in Metrophanes' year,<sup>6</sup>  
 Διόφαντος Ἐκεταίου Ἑρμειος, was one of those appointed to the charge  
 of the sacred monies and other revenues of the temple at Delos for  
 Kallistratos' archonship<sup>7</sup> (157-4 B.C.). One of the ambassadors

<sup>1</sup> IV, 65.

<sup>2</sup> See above p. 50 f.

<sup>3</sup> Smith, Dict. of Biog. s.v. Carneades.

<sup>4</sup> IV, 67; διεδέξατο τὸν Καρνεάδην.

<sup>5</sup> Diog. Laert. IV, 60.

<sup>6</sup> B.C.H. XIII (1889), p. 250.

<sup>7</sup> B.C.H. IV (1880), p. 186.

chosen to go from Delos to Athens in Metrophanes' year<sup>1</sup> was Φιλάνθης Φυλάσιος, a minor in 183/2 B.C.<sup>2</sup> The second ambassador on the same occasion was Εὐαγίων Κοθωκίδης, the same no doubt who appears in C.I.A. II, 1044 (c. 150 B.C.), whose father, Ἀλκέτης Εὐα[γ]ίωνος Κοθωκίδης, was an epimeletes in the early part of the second cent. B.C.,<sup>3</sup> and whose uncle, [Ε]ὐαγίων Κοθωκίδης, in the neighborhood of 180 B.C., made a contribution for himself and for his son Ἀλκέτης.<sup>4</sup> The third ambassador was Βύττακος Λαμπτρεύς. In Echekrates' year (102/1 B.C.) Βύττακος Λαμπτ[ρ]ε[ύς] was epimeletes of the harbour at the Peiraeus<sup>5</sup>; in Herakleitos' year (96/5 B.C.) he was termed ὁ ἐ[πὶ τὴν δημ]οσίαν τρ[ά]πεζαν τὴν ἐν Δῆ[λφ]ῳ<sup>6</sup>; in the same year his brother, Πύρρος Πύρρου Λαμπτρεύς, who in Argeios' first year (98/7 B.C.)<sup>7</sup> had been herald of the Areopagus, was στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ [τὰ ὄπλα].<sup>8</sup> The gymnasiarch at Salamis for Ergokles' year<sup>9</sup> was Θεόδοτος Εὐστρόφου Πειραιεύς, the same who in 103/2 B.C. furnished some fittings for a temple there.<sup>10</sup> His brother, Ἱεροφάντης Εὐστρόφου Πειραιεύς, appears in a list of names<sup>11</sup> published in the neighborhood of 125 B.C. His son was an epimeletes in the vicinity of 100 B.C.<sup>12</sup> The mover of a decree in Epikles' year<sup>13</sup> was Θεογένης Κ[α]λλιμάχου Λευκονοεὺς, whose daughter, Heliko, became the wife of Ἀθηνόδωρος Αἰξωνεὺς.<sup>14</sup> Athenodoros was herald of the Areopagus in 98/7 B.C.,<sup>15</sup> and a

<sup>1</sup> B.C.H. XVI (1892), p. 376 f.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 983, col. I, l. 102; see above p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 952, l. 21.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II, 984, l. 38; cf. II, 1048 (c. 100 B.C.) for Ἀλκέτης Εὐαγίωνος Περιθόιδου?

<sup>5</sup> C.I.A. II, 985 E, col. I, l. 11.

<sup>6</sup> C.I.A. II, 985 E, col. II, l. 57 f.

<sup>7</sup> C.I.A. II, 985 D, col. II, l. 16 f.

<sup>8</sup> C.I.A. II, 985 E, col. II, l. 44; see also C.I.A. II, 451, 1048. The daughter of Pyrrhos appears in C.I.A. IV 2, 477 d, l. 32; see below p. 86.

<sup>9</sup> C.I.A. II, 594.

<sup>10</sup> C.I.A. II, 595.

<sup>11</sup> C.I.A. II, 1047, l. 12.

<sup>12</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 952 b, l. 17; cf. 988 b, l. 5.

<sup>13</sup> C.I.A. II, 594.

<sup>14</sup> C.I.A. II, 2300.

<sup>15</sup> C.I.A. II, 985 D, col. II, l. 7.

thesmothetes in the early part of the first century B.C.<sup>1</sup> His son Athenophanes was an ephebe in 119/8 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

§ 68. **Demostratos.**<sup>3</sup> 130/29 B.C.

A Delphian decree passed in the archonship of Ἀριστίων Ἀναξανδροῖδα, at the time of the Pythian games,<sup>4</sup> proves that Demostratos, the Athenian contemporary of Aristion, belongs to the third year of an olympiad. In connection with his *Fasti Delphici Pomtow* has on several occasions<sup>5</sup> discussed the location of Demostratos. From data not explicitly stated<sup>6</sup> he determines that the only two years open to him are 130/29 and 126/5 B.C. 134/3 B.C. he specifically excludes.<sup>7</sup> Of the two years admissible he selects 126/5 B.C., but as his view in this particular is based upon Homolle's archon list his conclusion lacks cogency. This has been already pointed out by Colin in his *Notes de chronologie delphique* who chooses 130/29 B.C. for Demostratos.<sup>8</sup> It will be seen that if we leave out 134/3 B.C. it is necessary that Demostratos occupy 130/29 B.C., inasmuch as no third year of an

<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. II, 863.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. II, 469, l. 105.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 551, l. 40.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II, 551, l. 52 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Mith.* XV (1890), p. 289; *Phil.* LIV (1895), p. 215 ff., p. 591 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Aristion belongs to the ninth priestship. In the year 1889 (*Jahrb. f. cl. Phil.* CXXXIX (1889), p. 546) there were extant for the period between 168-7 B.C. and the beginning of the 9th priestship at Delphi 29 annual archons besides a share of 15 others, who came between 168-7 B.C. and the end of the twelfth priestship (after 92-1 B.C.; see *Phil.* LIV (1895), p. 591; *B.C.H.* XXII (1898), p. 148). On the other hand in the year 1898 there were extant between the beginning of the 9th priestship and the year 84-3 B.C. (at the latest) thirty-five archons, if we include 5 names belonging to this period but as yet unassigned to either a year or priestship (*B.C.H.* XXII (1898), p. 156 ff.). In this way the beginning of the 9th priestship is limited to the period between 139-8 B.C. — and 129-8 B.C. +. The end can be determined by me with no such precision: it must however have been later than 125-4 B.C. and earlier than 98-7 B.C. The fact, if it be a fact, (*Pomtow*, *Phil.* LIV (1895), p. 216 and *Jahrb. f. cl. Phil.* CXLIX (1894), p. 673) that several archons in the 9th priestship preceded Aristion, makes 134-3 B.C. very improbable for him.

<sup>7</sup> *Phil.* LIV (1895), p. 217.

<sup>8</sup> *B.C.H.* XXII (1898), p. 147 ff.

olympiad is unoccupied till we reach 114/3 B.C., which the stemma of the Aristion family probably excludes,<sup>1</sup> and which is probably to be assigned to either Herakleides or Sosikrates.

§ 69. **Lykiskos,**<sup>2</sup> **Dionysios,**<sup>3</sup> **Theodorides,**<sup>4</sup> **Diotimos,**<sup>5</sup> **Jason,**<sup>6</sup> **Nikias** and **Isigenes,**<sup>7</sup> **Demetrios,**<sup>8</sup> and **Nikodemos.**<sup>9</sup> 129/8–122/1 B.C.

By a piece of good fortune the secretary and the year of Jason's archonship, as well as the secretary for Nikodemos' year, are known. The priest of Serapis, too, for Nikias' and Isigenes' year is known.<sup>10</sup> Above all we can prove that the archons given above follow one another in the order given; since C.I.A. III, 1014 furnishes us with the list from Lykiskos to Demetrios,<sup>11</sup> and we know the successor of Demetrios, Nikodemos, from C.I.A. II, 471, l. 6. The secretary confirms the statement of Phlegon of Tralles that Jason was archon at Athens in the consulship at Rome of M. Plautius Hypsaesus and M. Fulvius Flaccus, 125/4 B.C.<sup>12</sup> This being so, the year 129/8 B.C. ff. must be assigned to Lykiskos and his group.

<sup>1</sup> Phil. LIV (1895), p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. III, 1014; C.I.G. 2296; B.C.H. VI (1882), p. 495; X (1886), p. 34

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. III, 1014; C.I.G. 2296; B.C.H. VI, (1882), p. 491, p. 495; XXII (1898), p. 147 f. The Delphian archon, Pyrrhos, held office in 128–7 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. III, 1014; IV 2, 1225 b; B.C.H. X (1886), p. 33; cf. VI (1882), p.

347. <sup>5</sup> C.I.A. III, 1014; Lebègue, Rech. sur Délos, p. 163; B.C.H. VII (1883), p. 370.

<sup>6</sup> C.I.A. III, 1014; II, 460, 625; Phlegon of Tralles, *Mirabilia X, Rerum Naturalium Scriptores*, ed. Keller I, p. 75 f.

<sup>7</sup> C.I.A. III, 1014; 'Athén. II, p. 134 (here written *Eisigenes* and not accompanied by *Nikias*); B.C.H. XVI (1892), p. 152.

<sup>8</sup> C.I.A. III, 1014; II, 471, l. 6. <sup>9</sup> C.I.A. II, 471, 472; IV 2, 472 b.

<sup>10</sup> The priest of Serapis was *Δημήτριος Ἐρμησίωνος Μαραθώνιος*, not *Δημήτριος Ἐρμίστου Μαραθώνιος* as I gave it in *Cornell Studies*, VII (1898), p. 48.

<sup>11</sup> Of the last name, Demetrios, Koehler read on the stone—*μητ*—which was Dittenberger's sufficient warrant for reading [*Δη*]μητ[*ριος*].

<sup>12</sup> I have to thank Conrad Trieber (*Literarisches Centralblatt*, XLIX (1898), p. 1606) for calling my attention to the correction of the text of Phlegon made by Diels in his *Sibyllinische Blätter*, p. 2 ff. As emended the text reads: *ἐγγενήθη καὶ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἀνδρόγυνος ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ἰάσονος, ὑπατεόντων ἐν Ῥώμῃ Μάρκου Πλαυτίου[καὶ Σέξτου Καρμυλίου] Ἰψαίου καὶ Μάρκου Φουλβίου Φλάκκου.* The explanation Diels offers for the presence in the MS. of the bracketed excrescence is most plausible. I refer the reader to the place cited above: cf. also *Cornell Studies*, VII (1898), p. 61.

§70. Eumachos.<sup>1</sup> 121/0 B.C.

An excerpt from Apollodoros' chronicle, twice introduced by Philodemos<sup>2</sup> in his history of the Academic succession, has been deciphered by Gomperz as follows :

[Τῶ]ι Κα[ρ]νεά[δ]η(ι) δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτ[ὸ]ν ἡ[γ]ν[υ] χρ[όνον]  
 Βόηθος υἱὸς Ἐρμαγ[ό]ρου [Μ]αραθώνιος,  
 Τό τ' ἄλλο <δὲ> π[ᾶν κ]αὶ τὸν [βίον] μάλισ[τα] [δὴ]  
 Ἐχων φ[ι]λ[ὸ]σ[ο]φον, τ[ῶ]ι λόγῳ δ' ἀ[πα]λώτερος.  
 Οὗτος δ' Ἀρίστω[ν]ος μὲν ἦν ἀκηκῶς  
 Τ[οῦ] τ' Ἐφεσίου β[ρ]αχύν τιν' Εὐβ[ούλ]ου χρόνον·  
 Τοῖς τ' Αὐτολύ[κο]ισι[ν] τῶ τ' Ἀμύντη (sic) πολλάκις,  
 Ἦδη προβεβηκῶς κ[αὶ] σχολῆς ἡγούμενος,  
 Διον[υ]σίῳ τ' οὐ σπάνιῳ [ἐσχό]λα[σ', αἶρε]θε[ῖς]  
 [Τ]ῆ[ν] [γ']ἀγχινο[ί]α τάνδρὸς [ῆ] καὶ τῶ λόγῳ.  
 Δεκάτῳ δὲ [τῆ]ς τοῦ Καρνεάδου μεταλλαγῆς  
 Ὑστερον, ἐ[π'] ἄρχοντος παρ' ἡμῖν Εὐμάχου  
 Θαρ[γ]ηλιῶνος μηνὸς ἐξέλιπεν —.

If other things were equal, the archon Eumachos would have to be assigned to 119/8 B.C., the tenth year after the death of Karneades II. But seeing that Hipparchos occupies that year, we must assume that the Karneades, from whose death the reckoning is made, is Karneades I,<sup>3</sup> and must assign Eumachos to 121/0 B.C. The context undoubtedly made it clear which was meant.

§ 71. Meton.<sup>4</sup> 120/19 B.C. ?

On the basis of a resemblance between the inscription of Meton's year and one passed in the year of Dionysios μετὰ

<sup>1</sup> Gomperz, Jenaer Literaturzeitung, 1875, p. 603 f. Bücheler, Index, p. 16 read the name as Eugamos. Preuner, Hermes, XXIX (1894), p. 554, n. 1 called attention to Gomperz' correction: Pomtow, Phil. LIV (1895), p. 370 did likewise. All others have persisted in retaining the wrong form.

<sup>2</sup> Büch. l. c. p. 16 and p. 18. The repetition of the passage, like some of its contents, still demands explanation.

<sup>3</sup> See above p. 74 f.

<sup>4</sup> B.C.H. VII (1883), p. 340.



Δύκισκον (128/7 B.C.), Reinach<sup>1</sup> placed these two archons close together.<sup>2</sup> Schoeffer places Meton in the neighborhood of 142 B.C.

§ 72. Hipparchos<sup>3</sup> and Lenaios,<sup>4</sup> Aristarchos<sup>5</sup> and Agathokles,<sup>6</sup> Menoites<sup>7</sup> and Sarapion.<sup>8</sup> 119/8–118/7, 107/6–106/5, 105/4–104/3 B.C.

Several groups of two archons each are furnished by certain well known ephebe lists. They are: Demetrios and Nikodemos, Hipparchos and Lenaios, Aristarchos and Agathokles, Menoites and Sarapion, and Echekrates and Medeios. Of these the first pair belongs, as we have seen, to 123/2, 122/1 B.C., the last pair to 102/1, 101/0 B.C.<sup>9</sup> The others require to be dated. For Lenaios, Aristarchos, Agathokles, and Sarapion we have the secretaries, and we know that Hipparchos, Aristarchos, and Menoites were respectively the direct predecessors of Lenaios, Agathokles, and Sarapion.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Arch. 1883, 2, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> It may be only a coincidence, yet it is worth noting, that the priest of the Great Deities—a cult very closely allied to that of Serapis, Isis, and Anubis (B.C.H. VII (1883), p. 336)—for 161–0 B.C.? belonged to the tribe Aiantis (C.I.G. 2270), and the one for 128–7 B.C. to Oineis (C.I.G. 2296): so perhaps the one for 120–19 B.C. to Pandionis—the tribe to which the priest for Meton's year belongs.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 469.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II, 469; B.C.H. XVI (1892), p. 159.

<sup>5</sup> C.I.A. II, 470; *Aθην.* IV, p. 462; cf. B.C.H. VI (1882), p. 348, no. 74. The priest who made the dedication in this inscription is styled *Ασχαρίων Ασχαρίωνος του Διονυσίου Μελιτεύς*. The reason for the appearance of the grandfather's name is to be found in B.C.H. VI (1882), p. 326, where we find *Ασχαρίων Ασχαρίωνος του Εύβούλου Μελιτεύς*. Seeing that the former inscription was posted up in 107–6, the latter in 111–0 B.C., there was considerable danger of confusion; cf. B.C.H. VI (1882), p. 341, no. 50.

<sup>6</sup> C.I.A. II, 470; IV 2, 1226 d; B.C.H. XIII (1889), p. 269; Josephus, *Antiq. of the Jews*, XIV, 8, 5.

<sup>7</sup> C.I.A. II, 465; B.C.H. VI (1882), p. 349; VII (1883), p. 368.

<sup>8</sup> C.I.A. II, 465, 595, l. 5; B.C.H. III (1879), p. 294.

<sup>9</sup> See below p. 86 f.

<sup>10</sup> See the inscriptions from the C.I.A. just cited.

Menoites and Sarapion cannot have come between 137/6 and 109/8 B.C.; for the priest of Serapis for Menoites' year was Ἰππώνικο[ς Ἰππο]νίκου Φλυεύς, a name which does not occur in the list of priests though this is complete for the period included.<sup>1</sup> The secretary allows only two places to be considered in their connection 105/4, 104/3 B.C. and 93/2, 92/1 B.C. The first of these is imperatively demanded by the evidence; for in Sarapion's year the priests of Serapis still followed one another in the official order of their tribes. In 101/0 B.C. that order had already been discontinued.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore in the archonships of Aristarchos (107/6 B.C.), Menoites, and Echekrates (101/0 B.C.) the *ὄπλομάχος* for the ephebes was Ἡρόδοτος Εἰτειαῖος and the *ἀφότης*, Καλλίας Αἰγυλιεύς.<sup>3</sup> Besides, the *ἀκοντιστής* for Demetrios' year, 123/2 B.C., having been the same as for Menoites' year,<sup>4</sup> the shorter interval is preferable. 105/4 and 104/3 B.C. may therefore be assigned with certainty to Menoites and Sarapion.

Of the other two pairs, the tangencies of Hipparchos and Lenaïos are all with Demetrios and Nikodemos (123/2, 122/1 B.C.), and those of Aristarchos and Agathokles with Menoites and Sarapion (105/4, 104/3 B.C.), and Echekrates and Medeios (102/1, 101/0 B.C.). For the *καταπαλταφότης* of Demetrios' year, Καλχηδων Καλχ[η]δονος Περιθο[ι]δης, was *ἀφότης* in Hipparchos' year, and Ἰέρων Ἡρακλείδου Ἀναγυράσιος, the *ὑπηρέτης* of Demetrios' year, was *ἀκοντιστής* in Hipparchos' year.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand we have already seen that the three archons Aristarchos, Menoites, and Echekrates have a common *ὄπλομάχος* and a common *ἀφότης*. Since therefore we are allowed by the secretaries to assign either pair to 119/8, 118/7 or to 107/6, 106/5 B.C. there can be no doubt whatever that the earlier years are to be set down for Hipparchos and Lenaïos and the later years for Aristarchos and Agathokles.

<sup>1</sup> Cornell Studies, VII (1898), p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> See C.I.A. II, 985 E, 1. 57.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 470, 465, 467.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II, 471 and 465.

<sup>5</sup> C.I.A. II, 471 and 469.

In Agathokles' year the paidotribes was Νέων Ἀφιδναίος.<sup>1</sup> The same individual held the same office in Herakleides' archonship<sup>2</sup> and in Sosikrates' year.<sup>3</sup> Therefore it seemed to me that these four archons, Aristarchos, Agathokles, Herakleides, and Sosikrates, formed a group which could only bodily be moved and located. It was because of the supposed fact that the common paidotribes linked these archons together indissolubly, that in the Athenian Secretaries<sup>4</sup> I assigned Aristarchos and Agathokles to 119/8, 118/7 B.C. and Herakleides and Sosikrates to the years immediately following. But a man may have been paidotribes in years widely apart. Thus in 283/2, 275/4, and 272/1? B.C. the paidotribes was Ἐρμόδωρος Ἐσπρίων Ἀχαρνεύς.<sup>5</sup> No other precedent than this is needed to warrant us in assuming that Νέων Ἀφιδναίος could have been paidotribes in 114/3, 111/0, and 107/6 B.C.<sup>6</sup>

The location of Agathokles has been a matter of much dispute.<sup>7</sup> An Athenian decree, found embedded in Josephus' Antiquities of the Jews, is dated by this archon. From the position of the document in the work<sup>8</sup> one would suppose that its contents had to do with Hyrkanos II, high priest of the Jews from 69 to 40 B.C. Koehler in proposing the period 69–62 B.C. for Agathokles had, besides the name connections already mentioned, to contend with the difficulty that the kosmetes for Aristarchos' year, Εὐδόξος Εὐδόξου Ἀχαρνέως, seemed identical with the παῖς, Εὐδόξος Εὐδόξου Ἰπποθωντίδος φυλῆς who won a victory at the Theseia in Phaidrias' year.<sup>9</sup> Salomon Reinach<sup>10</sup> added to these difficulties another by

<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 1226 d.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 1226 c.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 1226.

<sup>4</sup> Cornell Studies, VII (1898), p. 57; cf. Homolle, B.C.H. XVII (1893), p. 153 f.

<sup>5</sup> See above p. 27.

<sup>6</sup> Τιμων Τιμάρχου Βουράδης the paidotribes of 123–2 B.C. (C.I.A. II, 471) was kosmetes in 102–1 B.C. (C.I.A. II, 467).

<sup>7</sup> See Koehler's introductory note to C.I.A. II, 470.

<sup>8</sup> To the fact that it got misplaced may be attributed the addition to the name Ἴρκανός of that of the second Hyrkanos' father, Alexandros; see Homolle, B.C.H. XVII (1893), p. 153, n. 1.

<sup>9</sup> C.I.A. II, 470, l. 33 and 446, col. II, l. 76.

<sup>10</sup> Rev. Arch. 1883, 2, p. 99 ff.

drawing attention to the tangencies of Θεόδωρος Διοδώρου Σουινεύς. This individual, who was the mover of two Athenian decrees of Agathokles' year, was identified by Reinach with an epimeletes of Delos of the same name, whom Homolle located in Echekrates archonship.<sup>1</sup> Homolle added yet another difficulty in showing that, not only was Διονύσιος μετὰ Παράμονον (who is now dated positively in 112/1 B.C.) joined to Agathokles by a common chairman of proedroi, Στρατοφῶν Στρατοκλέους Σουινεύς, but also that Paramonos was linked to Polykleitos by the fact that Σωσίων Εὐμένους Οἰναῖος (who is now known for certain to have been priest of Dionysos in 113/2 B.C. and priest of Serapis in 110/9 B.C.) was a priest at Delos in both years.<sup>2</sup> When then in 1893<sup>3</sup> he showed further that Polykleitos was archon in the neighborhood of 110 B.C., and from the text of Josephus itself made it likely that Agathokles came in the 29th year of the priestship of Hyrkanos I<sup>4</sup> or in 106/5 B.C., the view of Koehler was pretty well demolished. It only remained to add the testimony of the finds at Delphi, through which we have recently learned that Ξενοκράτης Ἀγησιλάου, the archon there with whom Aristokles coincided, belonged to the period of the three half-yearly senators, and therefore to a time earlier than 84/3 B.C.,<sup>5</sup> to make it beyond all doubt that the Hyrkanos honored by the Athenians in Agathokles' year was Hyrkanos I, high priest of the Jews from 135? to 105? B.C.<sup>6</sup>

§ 73. Nausias.<sup>7</sup> 115/4 B.C.

We know that Nausias was archon at Athens in the year in which Γάϊος Γαῖου Ἀχαρνεύς was priest of the joint cult of Serapis,

<sup>1</sup> B.C.H. VIII (1884), p. 102 ff.; cf. B.C.H. XVII (1893), p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> B.C.H. X (1886), p. 25; cf. II (1878), p. 397 and VI (1882), p. 337 f.

<sup>3</sup> B.C.H. XVII (1893), p. 149 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The phrase runs thus in Josephus (l. c.): ταῦτα ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Ἰρκανοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ ἐθνάρχου ἔτους ἐνάτου μηνὸς Πανέμου. Homolle ingeniously supposes that in place of 9th it had originally been 29th.

<sup>5</sup> B.C.H. XXII (1898), p. 147 ff and p. 160.

<sup>6</sup> The dates are quite uncertain; see Homolle, B.C.H. XVII (1893), p. 156 f.

<sup>7</sup> C.I.G. 2295.

Isis, and Anubis at Delos.<sup>1</sup> In the Athenian<sup>2</sup> Secretaries I have shown that Gaios was priest in the year 115/4 B.C.

§ 74. **Herakleides<sup>3</sup> and Sosikrates.<sup>4</sup>** 114/3 or 111/0 B.C..

These two archons are linked to each other and to Aristarchos (107/6 B.C.) by the common paidotribes Νέων Ἀφιδναῖος.<sup>5</sup> Between 133/2 B.C. and 95/4 B.C. the only vacant years are 120/19?, 117/6, 116/5, 114/3, and 111/0 B.C. Though one can hardly say that all but the last two are impossible, they are at least much less probable.

§ 75. **Paramonos<sup>6</sup> and Dionysios.<sup>7</sup>** 113/2–112/1 B.C.

In Dionysios' archonship the consuls at Rome were L. Calpurnius (Piso) and M. Livius (Drusus).<sup>8</sup> This coincidence dates Dionysios with absolute certainty in 112/1 B.C.,<sup>9</sup> the year which the secretary also demands.<sup>10</sup> From C.I.A. II, 475 we know that Paramonos was the immediate predecessor of Dionysios.<sup>11</sup>

§ 76. **Polykleitos<sup>12</sup> and Jason.<sup>13</sup>** 110/9–109/8 B.C.

From the list published in the Athenian Secretaries<sup>14</sup> it is evident that Σωσίων Οἰναῖος was priest of Serapis in 110/09 B.C. The epimeletes of Delos for the year in which Sosion was priest was

<sup>1</sup> C.I.G. 2295 and B.C.H. VI (1882), p. 324, no. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Cornell Studies, VII (1898), p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 1226 c.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II, 1226.

<sup>5</sup> See above p. 82.

<sup>6</sup> C.I.A. II, 475; B.C.H. VI (1882), p. 338.

<sup>7</sup> C.I.A. II, 475; B.C.H. XXI (1897), p. 600; cf. XXII (1898), p. 148.

<sup>8</sup> B.C.H. XXI (1897), p. 600.

<sup>9</sup> Mommsen, C.I.L. I, p. 535.

<sup>10</sup> See A.J.P. XIX (1898), p. 314 f.

<sup>11</sup> Σωσίων Εὐμένους Οἰναῖος (B.C.H. VI (1882), p. 338, no. 41) I take to be the priest of Dionysos, the god to whom the dedication is made, not an ex-priest of Serapis in Paramonos' year; cf. Homolle, B.C.H. XVII (1893), p. 154.

<sup>12</sup> C.I.A. II, 461; B.C.H. II (1878), p. 397; XIII (1889), p. 370; XVI (1892), p. 151 f.; XVII (1893), p. 149 and n. 2.

<sup>13</sup> C.I.A. II, 461; B.C.H. VI (1882), p. 323.

<sup>14</sup> Cornell Studies, VII (1898), p. 46 ff.

Διονύσιος Νίκωνος Παλληνεύς.<sup>1</sup> We have abundant testimony<sup>2</sup> that Dionysios was epimeletes in Polykleitos' archonship. Therefore Polykleitos was archon in 110/09 B.C. This is the year demanded by the secretary also, just as 109/8 B.C. is that demanded for Jason, the immediate successor of Polykleitos, by the priest of Serapis for his year.

In 1893 Homolle showed that the year of the accession of Philon to the headship of the Academy was that of Polykleitos. Inasmuch as Crassus, when praetor (111-09 B.C.), had attended the lectures of the predecessor of Philon, Kleitomachos, the terminus post quem was thereby fixed for Polykleitos.<sup>3</sup>

§ 77. Demochares<sup>4</sup> and Theokles.<sup>5</sup> 108/7 and 103/2 B.C.

From C.I.A. IV 2, 626 b we learn that Theokles was a near predecessor of Medeios (101/0 B.C.).<sup>6</sup> The only vacant places at all suitable are 108/7 and 103/2 B.C. The two names [Θεοκλ]ῆς and [Προκλ]ῆς are equally good for the preamble of C.I.A. IV 2, 477, a decree which belongs to about this time; but, inasmuch as the secretary is from the tribe Oineis, Prokles is impossible. Theokles should be restored, and is thereby fixed, through the secretary in 103/2 B.C. The other requirement for Theokles is almost as cogent. Among the epebes in Delos for Theokles' year<sup>7</sup> was Σίμαλος Σιμάλου Ταραντίνοσ, who in Echekrates' year (102/1 B.C.) was enrolled among the foreign epebes resident at Athens.<sup>8</sup> A man could be an epebe in two years only.

The decree just cited is in praise of the ἐργαστίνας,<sup>9</sup> maidens who spun the wool for Athena's peplos in Theokles' year. The

<sup>1</sup> B.C.H. VI (1882), p. 337.

<sup>2</sup> B.C.H. II (1878), p. 397; XIII (1889), p. 370; XVI (1892), p. 151 f.

<sup>3</sup> B.C.H. XVII (1893), p. 149 f.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 477 d.

<sup>5</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 626 b; B.C.H. XV (1891), p. 261.

<sup>6</sup> Theokles could not have been a near predecessor of the Medeios who was archon in 85-4 B.C. ? and following.

<sup>7</sup> B.C.H. XV (1891), p. 261.

<sup>8</sup> C.I.A. II, 467, l. 145; cf. Fougères, B.C.H. XV (1891), p. 262.

<sup>9</sup> That a peplos was made every year is shown by the scholium to Ar. Knights, l. 566; cf. Sandys, Arist. Ath. Pol. 49, l. 20, note. Koehler, however, maintains that it was made only for the Great Panathenaia (Mith. VIII (1883), p. 62).

decree extant for Demochares' year<sup>1</sup> was of like character and of the same general time. The secretary allows us as possibilities 108/7 and 84/3 B.C. The latter year, however, is occupied in Schoeffer's list. Besides, the name connections, though by no means decisive, are on the whole in favor of 108/7 B.C.; for among the *ἐργαστίαι* for Demochares' year are: The daughter of Dionysios of Phlya, one of the *Σαβαζιασται* for Theokles' year.<sup>2</sup> The grandfather of Dionysios appears among the contributors in 183/2 B.C.;<sup>3</sup> the daughter of Theogenes of Lamprai, whose grandfather also appears in 183/2 B.C.;<sup>4</sup> the daughter of Pyrrhos of Lamprai, who in 98/7 B.C. was herald of the Areopagus and in 96/5 B.C. was general *ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα*; <sup>5</sup> the daughter of Kallias of Bate and of Mikion of Kephisia. For the family of Kallias see Koehler, C.I.A. II, 445, p. 223, and for that of Mikion see above p. 45.

§ 78. Echekrates,<sup>6</sup> Medeios,<sup>7</sup> Theodosios,<sup>8</sup> Prokles,<sup>9</sup> Argeios,<sup>10</sup> Argeios,<sup>11</sup> and Herakleitos.<sup>12</sup> 102/1-96/5 B.C.

An inscription published in the C.I.A.<sup>13</sup> furnishes us with a list of the Delian and Athenian magistrates, who in the first *ἐννετηρίς* contributed *ἀπαρχαί* to the Pythian Apollo at Delos. This list is divided into eight captions by means of the seven archons above mentioned, and an eighth who immediately preceded Echekrates.

<sup>1</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 477 d.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A. IV 2, 626 b; cf. II, 956, l. 8.

<sup>3</sup> C.I.A. II, 983, col. I, l. 140.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II, 983, col. I, l. 75.

<sup>5</sup> See above p. 76.

<sup>6</sup> C.I.A. II, 467, 985 D, ll. 17, 20.

<sup>7</sup> C.I.A. II, 467, 985 E, l. 16; IV 2, 626 b, l. 65; 1205 b?, 1206 b.

<sup>8</sup> C.I.A. II, 985 A, l. 7, E, l. 60.

<sup>9</sup> C.I.A. II, 935 A, l. 17, E, col. II, l. 26; Lebègue, Rech. sur Délos, p. 156; B.C.H. X (1886), p. 36 f.

<sup>10</sup> C.I.A. II, 985 D, col. II, l. 18; B.C.H. XXII (1893), p. 148 and 160.

<sup>11</sup> C.I.A. II, 985 D, col. II, l. 30, 468.

<sup>12</sup> C.I.A. II, [985 E, col. II, l. 12], E, col. II, l. 34, 468, 627, 1207; B.C.H. XV (1891), p. 263.

<sup>13</sup> C.I.A. II, 985.

The following Delian inscription enables us to date the whole group: <sup>1</sup> Ἑρμαῖσται, Ἀπολλωνιασταὶ, Ποσειδωνιασταὶ, οἱ γενόμενοι ἐπὶ ὑπάτων Γναίου Κορηλίου Λεντόλου καὶ Ποπλίου Λικινίου Κράσσου, ἐπὶ ἐπιμελητοῦ δὲ τῆς νήσου Μηδείου τοῦ Μηδείου Πειραιέως, τὸν Ἡρακλῆν ἀνέθηκαν, ἀφιερῶσαντες Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Ἰταλικοῖς. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus and P. Licinius Crassus were consuls at Rome in 97 B.C.<sup>2</sup> Since the Roman consuls entered upon office in January,<sup>3</sup> and all ordinary Attic magistrates in June–July, Medeios was epimeletes of Delos in either 98/7 or 97/6 B.C. From the list already referred to<sup>4</sup> we learn that in the first archonship of Argeios, Medeios was epimeletes of Delos. Therefore the first archonship of Argeios falls in either 98/7 or 97/6 B.C. Of these two years Koehler selects the latter, because by this selection a coincidence is established between the ἐννεετηρίς and two Pythiades (or the period between two quadrennial Delia). But if Sandys is right<sup>5</sup> and in 279 B.C. the Delia were celebrated, not in the third year of an olympiad, but in the second, two Pythiades would only coincide with the ἐννεετηρίς when Argeios was archon for the first time in 98/7 B.C. That Argeios was archon for the first time in 98/7 B.C. is proved by the secretary for Medeios' year.

#### § 79. Unlocated archons.

The following are the unlocated archons of the second century B.C.

##### Andreas.

C.I.A. II, 1043. The name is doubtfully that of an archon, the content of the inscription is not ascertainable, and its date uncertain. An Andreas was epimeletes of Delos between 95 and

<sup>1</sup> B.C.H. IV (1880), p. 190 f. I can find no evidence to support Homolle's assertion that Medeios was epimeletes in both archonships of Argeios.

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen, C.I.L. I, p. 537.

<sup>3</sup> Since the Hermaistai were all Romans (B.C.H. VI (1882), p. 166, n. 2) and neither the Apolloniastai nor Poseidoniastai Athenians (B.C.H. VIII (1884), p. 110), it is natural to expect that the Roman consuls, not the Athenian epimeletes, defined the year.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.A. II, 985 D, col. II, l. 14.

<sup>5</sup> Arist. Ath. Pol. 54, l. 32, note.



88 B.C. (see Kirchner, Pauly-Wissowa, I, p. 2135 (4)) and figured in other connections about the turn of the second and first centuries B.C. From the common custom of making an ex-archon epimeletes at Delos, it is conceivable that Andreas, if archon, was archon in the last quarter of the second century B.C. A list of names accompanies that of this archon in C.I.A. II, 1043. Among them appears Εὐκτέμων Βα[τήθεν]. Euktemon was about 15 years old in Anthesterios' year (C.I.A. II, 445, col. II, l. 7 ff.). Hence his ἀκμή came in about 135 B.C. Andreas was probably his contemporary (cf. Kirchner, Rhein. Mus. LIII (1898), p. 388 f.).

Andronides.

Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1898, p. 10. A mere name published without any chronological indication whatsoever.

Antiphilos.

C.I.A. II, 405. About the middle of the second century B.C.

Dionysios ὁ μετὰ - ἦν.

C.I.A. II, 418. The secretary was Θεόλυτος [- - θ]εν.

Dionysios ὁ μετὰ δέινα.

C.I.A. IV 2, 418 b. The secretary was Ἰάσων Ἀριστοκ[ρ -].

These both in all probability came later than the Dionysios who succeeded Nikophon (c. 200 B.C.), but I do not see how one can say more than that they belong to the second century B.C. The second, for anything I can find to the contrary, might be identified with the Dionysios who succeeded Lykiskos in 128/7 B.C.

(.) . . enion.

C.I.A. II, 623, l. 6. The letter before the H is said by Koehler to have been a Z, T, or Γ. We have an archon Athenion furnished us by an Athenian kleruch inscription from the island of Skyros. Dittenberger (followed by Kirchner, Pauly-Wissowa, s. v.) holds that Athenion is a local archon, and cites as parallels C.I.A. II, 469 and 594. These show that at Salamis a local archon existed, but C.I.A. II, 595 indicates that the Athenian archon alone might be used to date a Salaminian document. At Delos the Athenian archon alone was used and the presumption is in favor of the same being true for Skyros. The letter preceding the H

might conceivably be a Θ. If so, Athenion would come later than 196 B.C., the year in which Athens got possession of Skyros.

Κλ . . . ου.

B.C.H. X (1886), p. 37 f. May be ascribed to the period 166–95 B.C. perhaps.

–lytades.

Bücheler (Index Herc. Acad. Phil. p. 17, notes) places this archon in the first half of the second century B.C.

–on.

B.C.H. X (1886), p. 37 f. May be ascribed to the period 166–95 B.C. perhaps.

–os.

C.I.A. II, 377. The man who made the motion was *Λακράτης Μᾶ[ντρος]* – (C.I.A. IV 2, 377), who was chairman of the proedroi in Symmachos' year (C.I.A. IV 2, 417 b). – os should therefore be ascribed to the early part of the second century B.C.

– phantes.

Bücheler, Index, etc., p. 19, notes; Gomperz, Sitzungsber. d. k. Akad. d. Wissensch. zu Wien, CXXIII (1890), VI, p. 84. At least seven years prior to the death of Karneades. Perhaps somewhere between 150 and 140 B.C.

Phokion.

C.I.A. IV 2, 463 c. Ascribed by Koehler to the second century B.C.

Pleistainos.

C.I.A. II, 1409. His full name was *Πλείσταινος Σωκλέους Κεφαλῆθεν*. In C.I.A. II, 840 there is the first letter Π, the second perhaps Α, and the third Ε of an archon's name. Koehler suggests *Πλείσταινος* and ascribes the inscription to the end of the second century B.C. In it *βα]σιλέως Ἀν[τιόχου]* appears—perhaps Antiochos VIII Epiphanes, Philometor, Kallinikos, etc. (125–96 B.C.); cf. Pomtow. Jahrb. f. cl. Phil. CXLIX (1894), p. 553, n. 95.

T – .

Bücheler (Index, etc., p. 17, notes) places T – in the first half of the second century B.C.

C.I.A. IV 2, 407 k.

The genitive of the archon's name ended in - το]us. The secretary was from the tribe Ptolemais. Kirchner in his indices ascribes the inscription to the second century B.C. It may belong to 189/8, 177/6, 153/2, 141/0, or 117/6 B.C.

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There are, besides, the two fragmentary names E - (C.I.A. II, 1198), and Ka[1 - ] (C.I.A. II Add. Nov. 477 c), and the full name Aristeides (C.I.A. II, 1166) which belong somewhere in the third, second, and first centuries B.C.

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

In this table the following signs are used: 1. An interrogation mark with italics to indicate an approximate dating. 2. An interrogation mark alone to indicate a preference for one of two or more possible years. 3. Italics alone to indicate a well assured, but not quite certain dating. 4. Roman type to indicate a well assured and practically certain dating. 5. An asterisk after a secretary's deme-name to indicate a restoration made by the author.

<i>Year B.C.</i>	<i>Archon.</i>	<i>Tribe.</i>	<i>Secretary.</i>
307/6	Anaxikrates	Aigeis	Λυσίας [N]οθ[ί]ππου Διομεύς
306/5	Koroibos	Aiantis	Πάμφιλος Θεογείτονος Ξαμνούσιος
305/4	Euxenippos	Antiochis	.....ος Λύκου Ἀλωπεκῆθε[ν]
304/3	Pherekles	Antigonis	Ἐπιχαρίνος Δημοχάρους Γαργήτιος
303/2	Leostratos	Erechtheis	Διόφαντος Διονυσοδώρου Φηγούσιος
302/1	Nikokles	Aigeis	Νίκων Θεοδώρου Πλωθεύς
301/0	Klearchos	Pandionis	Μνήσαρχ[ος.....]ου Προβαλίσσιος
300/9	Hegemachos	Leontis	
299/8	Euktemon	Akamantis	Θεόφιλος [Ξεν]ο[φών]τος Κεφαλῆθεν
298/7	Mnesidemos	Oineis	
297/6	Antiphates <i>Ἀναρχία</i>	Kekropis	
296/5	Nikias	Hippothontis	[Αντ]ι[κρ]άτης Κρατίν[ου Ἀζην]ι[εὺς]*
295/4	Nikostratos	Aiantis	— — Φαληρεὺς <sup>1</sup>
294/3	Olympiodoros	Antiochis	
293/2	Philippos	Antigonis	
292/1	Lysias	Demetrias	
291/0	Kimon	Erechtheis	
290/9	Diokles	Aigeis	Ξενοφῶ[ν N]ικέου Ἀλαεὺς
289/8	Diotimos	Pandionis	Λυσίστρατος [Α]ριστο[μ]άχου Παιανιεύς
288/7	Isaios	Leontis	
287/6	Euthios	Akamantis	Ναυσιμένης Ναυσικίδου Χαλαργεύς
286/5	Xenophon	Oineis	
285/4	Urios	Kekropis	Εὐξενος Καλλίου Αἰζωνεύς
284/3	<i>Telokles</i>	Hippothontis	.....
283/2	Menekles	Aiantis	Θεόδωρος Λυσιθέου [Τρικρο]ύσιος
282/1	Nikias Otr.	Antiochis	Ἴσοκράτης Ἴσοκράτου Ἀλωπεκῆθεν
281/0	Aristonymos	Antigonis	.....ς Αἰθαλίδης
280/9	Gorgias	Demetrias	
279/8	Anaxikrates	Erechtheis	
278/7	Demokles	Aigeis	
277/6	(.)... <i>laios</i> ?	Pandionis	
276/5	Kleomachos?	Leontis	Ἀ[φ]θόνητος Ἀρχίνου Κήτιος
275/4	Polyeuktos	Akamantis	Χαιρεφῶν Ἀρχεστράτου Κεφαλῆθεν
274/3	Hieron	Oineis	Φαινύλος Πανφίλου Ὀθήθεν
273/2	<i>Eubulos</i> ?	Kekropis	
272/1	<i>Philoneos</i> ?	Hippothontis	
271/0	Pytharatos	Aiantis	

<sup>1</sup> From an inscription not yet published.

<i>Year B.C.</i>	<i>Archon.</i>	<i>Tribe.</i>	<i>Secretary.</i>
270/9 <sup>1</sup>		Antiochis	
269/8		Antigonis	
268/7	Philokrates	Demetrias	Ηγήσιππος Ἄριστομάχου Μελιτεύς
267/6	<i>Peithidemos</i>	Erechtheis	
266/5		Aigeis	
265/4		Pandionis	
264/3	Diognetos	Leontis	
263/2	Arrheneides	Akamantis	
262/1		Oineis	
261/0		Kekropis	
260/9		Hippothontis	
259/8	<i>Olbios</i>	Aiantis	- ο[s .....]ος Ῥαμονού[σιος]
258/7		Antiochis	
257/6		Antigonis	
256/5		Demetrias	
255/4		Erechtheis	
254/3	Kallimedes?	Aigeis	[Καλ]λίας Καλλιιάδου Πλωθείς
253/2		Pandionis	
252/1	Thersilochos?	Leontis	Διόδωτος Διογνήτου Φρεάρριος
251/0		Akamantis	
250/9 <sup>2</sup>		Oineis	
249/8		Kekropis	
248/7	<i>Diogeiton</i>	Hippothontis	Θεόδωτος Θεοφίλου Κεiriάδης
247/6		Aiantis	
246/5	C.I.A. IV 2,371c.	Antiochis	- - Ει[τεαίος]*
245/4	— mon	Antigonis	
244/3	.....	Demetrias	.....ος Δημητρίο[υ] Ἴπποτ[ο]μ[ά]δης
243/2		Erechtheis	
242/1		Aigeis	
241/0	<i>Glaukippos</i>	Pandionis	Εὐθουνο[s ....κ]ρίτου [Μυρρ]ινοῦσιος
240/9		Leontis	
239/8		Akamantis	
238/7	C.I.A. IV 2,373c.	Oineis	[.....ε]νωνος Ἐπικηφίσιος
237/6	Heliodoros	Kekropis	Χαρίας Καλλίων Ἄθμονε[ύ]ς
236/5	Leochares	Hippothontis	
235/4	Theophilos	Aiantis	Φίλιππος Κηφισοδώρου Ἄ[φιδναίος]*
234/3	Ergochares	Antiochis	Ζώιλος Διφίλο[υ] Ἄλωπεκ[ήθεν]
233/2	Niketes	Antigonis	

<sup>1</sup> Unlocated archons of this period : Agasias, Sosistratos.

<sup>2</sup> Unlocated archons of this period : A-, Alkibiades, (?)...bios, Hagnias, Lysiades, Lysitheides, Pheidostratos, Pythokritos, Theophemos, Thymochares.

<i>Year B.C.</i>	<i>Archon.</i>	<i>Tribe.</i>	<i>Secretary.</i>
232/1	Antiphilos	Demetrias	
231/0	Jason	Erechtheis	
230/9	Kalli—	Aigeis	
229/8	Menekrates	Pandionis	
228/7	Diomedon	Leontis	Φορυσκίδης Ἀριστομένου Ἄ[λιμούσιος]*
227/6	Kallaischros	Ptolemais	
226/5		Akamantis	
225/4	<i>Chairephon</i>	Oineis	
224/3	.....s	Kekropis	
223/2	Diokles	Hippothontis	Ἀριστοφάνης Στρατοκλέους Κειριάδης
222/1	Euphiletos	Aiantis	
221/0	Herakleitos	Antiochis	Διονυσ — — —
220/9	Archelaos	Antigonis	Μόσχος Μο[σχ —] Κυ[δα]θην(αεύς)
219/8 <sup>1</sup>		Demetrias	
218/7		Erechtheis	
217/6	<i>Aischron</i>	Aigeis	
216/5	Kallistratos	Pandionis	
215/4		Leontis	
214/3		Ptolemais	
213/2	<i>C.I.A. IV<sup>2</sup>, 385 f?</i>	Akamantis	Ἀριστοτέλης Θεαινέτου Κε[φαλῆθεν]
212/1		Oineis	
211/0	<i>Nikophon?</i>	Kekropis	
210/9	<i>Dionysios?</i>	Hippothontis	
209/8		Aiantis	
208/7		Antiochis	
207/6	Thrasysphon?	Antigonis	— — του Παιανεύς
206/5	Patiades	Demetrias	
205/4	C.I.A. II, 385.	Erechtheis	—s Μενεστράτου Λαμπτρέύς
204/3		Aigeis	
203/2	Antimachos?	Pandionis	Χαιρ[ι]γένης [Χαι]ριγένου Μυρρινούσιος
202/1	Phanarchides?	Leontis	
201/0		Ptolemais	
200/9	<i>Sosigenes?</i>	Akamantis	
199/8 <sup>2</sup>		Oineis	
198/7		Kekropis	
197/6		Hippothontis	
196/5		Aiantis	
195/4		Antiochis	
194/3		Attalis	

<sup>1</sup> Unlocated archons of this period : Alexandros, Philinos.

<sup>2</sup> Unlocated archons of the third cent. B.C. : Antipatros, Philippides, Proxenides.

<i>Year B.C.</i>	<i>Archon.</i>	<i>Tribe.</i>	<i>Secretary.</i>
193/2		Erechtheis	
192/1		Aigeis	
191/0		Pandionis	
190/9		Leontis	
189/8		Ptolemais	
188/7	Symmachos	Akamantis	Ἀρχικλῆς Θεοδώρου Θεορίκιος
187/6	Theoxenos	Oineis	
186/5	Zopyros	Kekropis	Μεγάριστος Πύρρου Αἰξωνε[ύ]ς
185/4	Eupolemos	Hippothontis	Στρατόνικος Στρατονίκ[ου Ἀμαξ]αντεύς
184/3		Aiantis	
183/2	Hermogenes	Antiochis	
182/1	Timesianax	Attalis •	[ - Ἀρι]στομάχου Προβαλίσιος
181/0		Erechtheis	
180/9 <sup>1</sup>		Aigeis	
179/8		Pandionis	
178/7		Leontis	
177/6		Ptolemais	
176/5	Hippakos	Akamantis	
175/4	Sonikos	Oineis	Πανσανίας Βιονέλου Περιβοΐδης
174/3		Kekropis	
173/2		Hippothontis	
172/1	Tychandros	Aiantis	Σωσιγ[έ]νης Μενεκράτου Μαρ[αθώνιος]
171/0	De—	Antiochis	
170/9	<i>Achaios?</i>	Attalis	
169/8	Eunikos	Erechtheis	Ἰερώνυμ[ος] Βοήθου Κηφισιεύς
168/7	Xenokles	Aigeis	Σθενέδημος Ἀσκ(λ)ηπιάδου Τειθράσιος
167/6	Nikomenes?	Pandionis	
166/5	Lysiades?	Leontis	
165/4	Pelops	Ptolemais	Διονυσικλῆς Διονυσίου Ἐκαλήθεν
164/3	Euerg—	Akamantis	
163/2	Erastos	Oineis	
162/1	Poseidonios	Kekropis	
161/0	Aristolas	Hippothontis	.....ς Φιλωνίδου Ἐλευσίνιος
160/9	Aristaichmos	Aiantis	
159/8		Antiochis	
158/7		Attalis	
157/6		Erechtheis	
156/5	Anthesterios	Aigeis	
155/4	Kallistratos	Pandionis	
154/3	Mnesitheos	Leontis	
153/2		Ptolemais	

<sup>1</sup> Unlocated archons of this period : -lytades, -os, T-.

Year B.C.	Archon.	Tribe.	Secretary.	
152/1	Hagnotheos	Akamantis	Μενεκράτης Χαριζίνου Θορίκιος	
151/0	Phaidrias <sup>1</sup>	Oineis		
150/9		Kekropis		
149/8 <sup>2</sup>		Hippothontis		
148/7		Aiantis		
147/6		Antiochis		
146/5		Attalis		
145/4		Philon <sup>?</sup>	Erechtheis	
144/3			Aigeis	
143/2		Zaleukos <sup>?</sup>	Pandionis	
142/1			Leontis	
141/0		Ptolemais		
140/9	Antitheos	Akamantis		
139/8	Archon	Oineis		
138/7	Epikrates	Kekropis	..... Συναλήττιος	
137/6	Theaitetos <sup>?</sup>	Hippothontis		
136/5	Nikomachos	Aiantis		
135/4	Xenon <sup>?</sup>	Antiochis		
134/3	Timarchos <sup>?</sup>	Attalis		
133/2	Metrophanes	Erechtheis	Ἐπιγένης Μοσχίνου Λαμπτρεῦς	
132/1	Ergekles	Aigeis		
131/0	Epikles	Pandionis	[Γοργ]ίλος Γοργίλου -	
130/9	Demostratos	Leontis		
129/8	Lykiskos	Ptolemais	[- - B]ουτάδης	
128/7	Dionysios	Akamantis		
127/6	Theodorides	Oineis		
126/5	Diotimos	Kekropis		
125/4	Jason	Hippothontis	- Ἀναξικράτου Ἐλευσίνιος	
124/3	{ Nikias and Isigenes	Aiantis		
123/2	Demetrios	Antiochis		
122/1	Nikodemos	Attalis	Ἐπιγένης Ἐπιγένου Οἰναῖος	
121/0	Eumachos	Erechtheis		
120/9	Meton <sup>?</sup>	Aigeis		
119/8	Hipparchos	Pandionis		
118/7	Lenaïos	Leontis	[Ἴ]σίδωρος Ἀπο[λλ]ωνίου Σκαμβωνίδης	
117/6 <sup>3</sup>		Ptolemais		
116/5		Akamantis		
115/4	Nausias	Oineis		

<sup>1</sup> May be placed in 153-2 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Unlocated archons of this period : Andronides, Antiphilos, Dionysios μετὰ -ην, Dionysios μετὰ δεῖνα, (.)..enion, Κλ...ου, -ον, -phantes.

<sup>3</sup> Unlocated archons of this period : Andreas, Pleistainos.



<i>Year B.C.</i>	<i>Archon.</i>	<i>Tribe.</i>	<i>Secretary.</i>
114/3	Herakleides?	Kekropis	
113/2	Paramonos	Hippothontis	
112/1	Dionysios	Aiantis	Λάμιος Τιμούχου Ψαμνούσιος
111/0	Sosikrates?	Antiochis	
110/9	Polykleitos	Attalis	
109/8	Jason	Erechtheis	Ἐπιφάνης Ἐπιφάνου Λαμπτρεύς
108/7	Demochares	Aigeis	- Διονυσσοδώρου Ἀγκυλ[ῆθεν]
107/6	Aristarchos	Pandionis	Τελέστης Μηδείου Παιανιεύς
106/5	Agathokles	Leontis	Εὐκλῆς Ξεάνδρου Αἰθα[λίδη]ς
105/4	Menoites	Ptolemais	
104/3	Sarapion	Akamantis	Σοφο[κλ]ῆς Δημη[τρίω]ν Ἰφιστιάδης
103/2	Theokles	Oineis	[ - σ]θένης Κλεινίου Κοθωκί[δης]
102/1	Echekrates	Kekropis	
101/0	Medeios	Hippothontis	Φιλίων Φιλίωνος Ἐλευσίνιος
100/9 <sup>1</sup>	Theodosios	Aiantis	
99/8	Prokles	Antiochis	
98/7	Argeios	Attalis	
97/6	Argeios	Erechtheis	
96/5	Herakleitos	Aigeis	

<sup>1</sup> Unlocated archons of the second cent. B.C. : Phokion, Ε-?, Κα[1-]?, Aristeides?.

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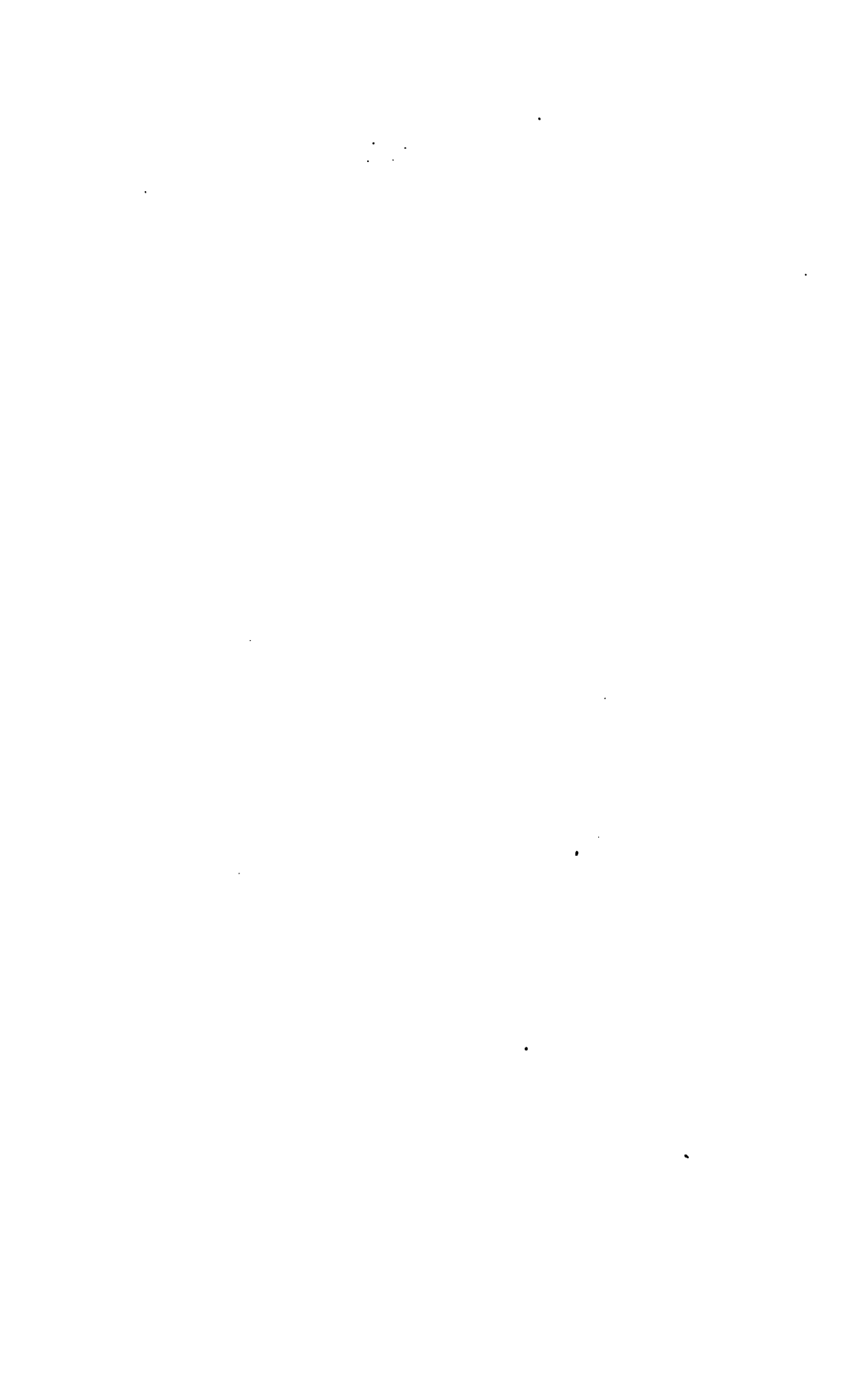
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